

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

January-February, 1941



NATIONAL MORALE

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- The air is full of talk about national defense. Another and important aspect of the present situation is our national morale. However, the latter theme receives comparatively little attention. Perhaps it sounds too abstract, and possibly people are not ready to analyze it.

I

Near the close of the World War in 1918 and in the years that immediately followed, a number of studies of morale began to reach the public eye. One of these was by H. C. Goddard, another by G. Stanley Hall, and a third by William E. Hocking. Goddard's treatise is a series of essays or talks to soldiers and defines morale in terms of personality traits.¹ He suggested three "preliminary morales," namely, health, gregariousness, and humor. The "major morales" are judged to be pugnacity, adventure, work, communal labor, revenge, justice, and affection. Then, there are the "composite morales" of pride, victory, sport, fatalism, and reason. The "supreme morale" is "creative," or doing something new and different. However, these personality "morales" do not help much in explaining national morale.

Hall probed deeper. He asserted that morale is "the supreme standard of life and conduct." The other standards are conscience, honor, and the superman. Morale is keep-

¹ H. C. Goddard, *Morale* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918).

ing "ourselves, body and soul, and our environment, physical, social, and industrial, etc., always at the very tip-top of condition."² Hall developed a social ethics at this point and insisted that morale, the ability to keep everything and everybody at the tip-top of condition, is the best criterion "of all human worths and values," even of the home, the state, the church, industry.³

Hocking explained morale in the personal sense as the condition of the mind, and in the social sense as the group's faith in itself. He found the roots of morale in specific personality traits, such as endurance, initiative, power of sacrifice, loyalty, ability to subordinate personal interest and pride, power "of taking the measure of the event, of discounting the unfavorable turn, of responding to frightfulness with redoubled resolution rather than fear, of appreciating the real emergency and rising instantly to meet it."⁴ But this interpretation again stops at the point of personality traits. It does not explain what accounts for these traits, what arouses them to superior action, what the role of the group is, or what national morale is as distinguished from the personal morale of individuals.

II

The main essence of national morale is to be found in the nation itself. It is more than defense; it is to be found also in what a nation has to defend, and in how well the people appreciate what they have to defend. It is in war-times that attention is called to morale, but it is in peace-times that the real foundations of morale are built.

A. T. Steele, writing from Peking, China,⁵ under date of August 24, 1940, quotes North China's Japanese-con-

² G. Stanley Hall, *Morale* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1920), p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴ William E. Hocking, *Morale and Its Enemies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918), p. 8.

⁵ For the Chicago Daily News Service.

trolled press to the effect that "the United States is a soft, pleasure-drugged nation" and is doomed to defeat in war. According to the same sources, "the majority of Americans are given to pleasure and are disgusted with war." In other words, here is an attempt to say that the morale of the United States is low.

In war the main aim seems to be to break the morale of the enemy. The crumbling of France in June, 1940, is a notorious case in point. France had soldiers, fortifications, munitions; but her morale was shattered, and she surrendered. What was the situation? For years France had had too many opinions, too much partisanship, too many economic and political schisms, and too little national morale. One group of people in power, no matter what group, was always attacked viciously by two or three other groups not in power.

The Weimar Constitution and the movement toward democracy in Germany met the same fate. Too many divisions of opinion arose. Action was paralyzed, and the way was opened for a dictator. Italy in 1922 was in the same situation. To bring order out of the chaos caused by too many diverse opinions, Mussolini daringly leaped into the gaps between these diverse opinions and built up a Fascist regime.

In China the main immediate aim of the Japanese military has been to break the morale of the Chinese. The repeated heavy bombing of Chunking has had as its main objective the destruction not of people and buildings so much as that of morale. These persistent bombings with their terrible destruction of life and maiming of human bodies are to be continued until "the spirit of resistance is broken." Likewise, a major aim of the heavy bombing of London which began in September, 1940, has been to break the morale of the English. The old slogan of empire builders of "divide and rule" has long utilized the prin-

ciple of breaking up large unities into small, helpless peoples without morale.

III

Wherein lie the essence and the strength of national morale? First, in the appreciation of the people generally of specific values that their country affords them. These values include work under just conditions, a fair remuneration, a fairly agreeable situation in which to work. They involve housing conditions that are healthful and pleasant and home conditions that are stimulating. They call for a sense of security—security in work, in home, in health, in old age, and in savings and property. They also refer to a sense of freedom and of being able to be a person, not an automaton or a slave.

Equally important is a sense of appreciation of all these values. A people might have all the amenities and comforts of life and still lack national morale. They might be "spoiled," fault finding, and suffering social disorganization. People of social affluence have all the physical advantages of life that they need and far more than they can use, and a sense of security; yet many of them are lacking in a sense of national morale. A genuine feeling of appreciation is necessary to morale.

Second, morale requires understanding of, and belief in, national principles. To the people with morale their nation stands for something of which they are proud, both material and spiritual. Often it stands for what is considered a great concept, a force that is going to save the world from the doldrums, from its vices, from its headlong rush to the bowwows. It may stand for "a great idea, such as liberty and justice for all." It may stand for might that will give its members dominance in the world and for "destiny" that will guarantee all a place in the sun in the future.

Totalitarianism in Europe "rests on a large element of force and a small element of popular consent," while the aim in Japan is "an organic body politic." High national morale stems from a widespread belief in the destiny of Japan and the Japanese people. It means a "total integration of Japanese social, economic, military, and moral forces."⁶ All political parties and all divisive factors are to be eliminated. Everyone from childhood is to be taught to believe in and to act in accordance with this single-minded national destiny. These beliefs will be taught informally through the social heritage, by formal educational procedures, and by highly concentrated propaganda measures in season and out.

Third, there is the closely related factor in morale, namely, the identification by the individual of his interests with the national welfare. To the extent that all individuals identify their own welfare with that of the nation, morale will be effective.

Sometimes this result is achieved by the identification of the individual's own advancement with national advancement. If the individual can see how his personal interests will be promoted by the aggressive efforts of his nation, then he not only will become seemingly loyal but will rationalize himself into thinking that he is genuinely patriotic.

Sometimes the individual identifies himself with his nation because of the national glory that will come his way. His ego feeds upon national progress. He will rise in prominence as his nation mounts upward. He boosts his nation with all his might without seeing what others see—that his loyalty is based on the development and the inflation of his ego.

Sometimes the interests of a group to which an individual belongs and those of the nation seem to coincide. At

⁶ *Inpareil*, Institute of Pacific Relations, No. 69, September 14, 1940, p. 1.

least the interests of a group may be promoted if the group will line up with the nation and its program. Hence, it seems well to the individual members of such groups to support the nation, even at some inconvenience.

In the fourth place, national morale is related to the confidence of the people in the nation's leaders. This confidence depends on the ability of the leaders to achieve for the welfare and the glory of the nation. If a leader can add to the nation's place in the sun, many of his shortcomings will be overlooked.

Confidence in leadership is connected with the leader's evident honesty and sincerity of purpose. This consideration is especially important in a democratic state. A leader is expected to make some mistakes; but, if he tries to cover these up, if he fails repeatedly to admit them, or if he blames them on others, he loses the confidence that the people have placed in him, and national morale is weakened. On the other hand, if he says he will undoubtedly make some mistakes but will try to correct them, he inspires good will and builds morale.

Confidence in leadership is often bolstered by propaganda and press agents. Continuous is this exercise in a totalitarian state. Especially in a totalitarian state is it true that a leader's blunders are suppressed, denied, or explained away, and his successes are lauded skyward; thus, national morale is built up, but on a shaky foundation.

IV

National morale may be developed not only in direct ways but by indirect methods, that is, by setting a nation's house in order. The totalitarian movements in Italy and Germany in recent years have given particular attention to correcting internal evils. Democratic states work at the same problems but often so slowly that some of the evils nearly wreck the ship of state.

1. One of the most common weaknesses of the democratic state is that many people put *partisanship above patriotism*. True, they call their partisanship by the name of patriotism, but that does not make it so. Moreover, the conflict of two or three or several types of antagonistic "patriotisms" in a country rocks national morale to pieces.

Writing in the *Los Angeles Times* for September 12, 1940, a reporter refers to the scenes in a preview theater when the likenesses of President Roosevelt and presidential candidate Wendell Willkie were flashed upon the screen. "The Roosevelt supporters booed and hissed Mr. Willkie; the Willkie fans booed and hissed our President! Both men had something to say—but they couldn't be heard over the audience's uproar." Such partisanship undermines national morale.

When there are "too many people with too many opinions," disunity prevents unity. Tolerance has flown away. Too many parties mean that partisans are likely to be blind to the existence of any common ground.

2. A closely related weakness is *hyperindividualism*. Our country was built up out of pioneering by individuals of tremendous courage. People achieved as individuals, and they fought for their country as individuals. Today the situation is different. The powerful will of headstrong individuals that was once essential may now defeat democracy.

Individualism today may easily lead to countless self-centered programs. It prevents unity and balks that morale which is needed in a day when all the world is but a single stage. When the people of a nation do not work together, each subordinating his interests to those of the whole, they weaken their nation so that it can not stand forth as a capable player on a stage where the wish to be peaceful does not bring peace.

Hyperindividualism is not to be confused with democracy. It is the enemy of democracy. Much that we label democracy in our country is individualism. It has not yet achieved the level of democracy.

3. Another basic weakness of democracy occurs whenever the "haves" and the "have-nots" are *arrayed against each other*. When the middle class dwindles, the other two main classes in society fall apart and then fall upon each other. They do not close ranks and move forward against a common enemy. They fall victims to that foe.

The downfall of France in 1940 came about partly because of the wide chasm between the "haves" and the "have-nots." They could not work together. They despised each other and neglected the welfare of all. When one group gave orders, the other would not respond. Finally, orders were scarce, and capitulation to the enemy quickly followed.

When the "haves" and the "have-nots" fight each other, they develop such hatreds that even an enemy at the gates cannot unite them in spirit. One side riots, and the other side calls out the militia. With every volley from the government's guns, national morale is shattered. Hence it is important for a democracy to develop a system of economic distribution that will spread out the earnings of a people to all the people equitably, or else that democracy is doomed because of its own shortsightedness.

4. *Inefficiency in government* is often a nemesis of democracy. If it is true in an individualistic democracy that what is everybody's business is nobody's business, as Aristotle once suggested, then graft will flourish in high places.

There are two kinds of inefficiency in a democratic government. One is due to the fact that anyone can run for office without respect to his ability for the particular office. If he expresses convictions in line with what an active minority desire, or can secure a sufficient "build-up," he

may defeat a well-qualified candidate. Teachers, dentists, veterinarians, realtors must be licensed, but not a person who aspires to assist in running the complicated affairs of government.

Besides ignorance and lack of training, graft is a cause of inefficiency. Graft springs many-headed from the bosom of special interests seeking easy millions. Graft flourishes partly because of the domination over politicians of the underworld. So great is the terror engendered by a tolerated "under cover" world that many honest men and women will not run for office. So dynamic is the urge for greed that the devotees of greed do not hesitate to besmirch the character of able officials. And yet, why is democracy so tolerant of its enemies? Why does it so bow to individuals that it cannot or does not ferret out and punish promptly all who thrive upon greed in government?

5. Still another weakness of democracy is the *lack of social vision* of people, high or low in economic status, and educated or uneducated. When even persons of great wealth and hence of great social responsibility or persons of years of professional education cannot see beyond their individual noses or outside the economic welfare of those special interests which employ them, then democracy may be at the mercy of its profiteers and "patrioteers."

6. Today we hear much talk to the effect that millions are "getting soft." With softness goes an unwillingness to sacrifice for the social group or to assume social responsibilities. Softness avoids discipline; it favors the idea of getting not something, but everything for nothing. It is a form of "social spoliation," that is, of whole groups "being spoiled" by virtue of having too easy a time. As a result, values become distorted, ennui develops, recklessness grows, and neither health nor character nor social well-being is prized.

Readers will supplement the list of weaknesses of democracy already cited. They will mention heterogeneity of population. They will include lack of security, unemployment, a helpless economic system, and many other evils. Moreover, they can tell what needs to be done. They will offer five-year plans for democratic reorganization. But social education moves slowly, and dangers to morale multiply rapidly. A free and thoroughly intelligent people, motivated by the desire for national welfare, can save itself from itself by recognizing and correcting the weaknesses in democracy, by acting quickly in building social justice into its daily life, and by setting its national sights on personal freedom under equitable law.

EVALUATIVE RESEARCH IN GROUP DISCUSSION*

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● *Criteria of measurement.* Measurement will be defined as a series of actions which satisfy three essential conditions:

1. The selection of a working concept of the character to be measured.
2. A satisfactory representative of quantitative variations in this concept as possessed or exhibited by the phenomena to be measured.
3. A quantitative comparison between the observed degree of the character and some reference point or scale.

These criteria were carefully formulated and explained by Douglas Scates in the March issue of *Psychometrika* in 1937 and in the *Journal of Experimental Education* of the same month and year.¹ They will be used here as a framework not only for expanding our specific topic but also for forcing the materials to bear an objective scrutiny.

Selection of working concept. In satisfying the first of these criteria we are faced with the most important consideration. The adoption of the proper concept raises at least two questions: What ought to be measured? What can be measured? The answers given by teachers to the first question have shown much uniformity. It is safe to assert that very few teachers believe that only the acquisition of information is required in the satisfactory education. On the contrary, the vast majority of teachers have named a number of so-called "intangible" outcomes of

* Read before the Educational Sociology Section of The American Sociological Society, Philadelphia, December 28, 1939.

¹ Douglas E. Scates, "The Essential Conditions of Measurement," *Psychometrika*, 2:27-34, March, 1937; and "How Science Measures," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 5:296-312, March, 1937.

learning as of great importance and have repeatedly expressed a need for measuring instruments which accurately and conveniently express changes in the development of their pupils.² The teachers of thirty schools co-operating in the eight-year Evaluation Program of Progressive Education have set up certain objectives as desirable intellectual and emotional goals for their pupils. These objectives are classifiable under the headings of (1) aspects of reflective thinking, (2) interests, aims, and purposes, (3) attitudes, (4) study skills and work habits, (5) social adjustment, (6) creativeness, (7) functional information, (8) functional social philosophy.³

If these objectives are to give the answer to the question of what ought to be measured, researchers for the present will grope along many unexplored areas. It may be predicted that they will no longer concern themselves with pure teaching procedure as such. The master method has not yet been found, because the relative merit of any procedure varies with the purpose, the content of instruction, the leadership, the mental level, and other pertinent traits of pupils.⁴

Three competent educational researchers, concluding their reviews of research in teaching procedures, reach almost identical conclusions. Carter Good says, "Apparently the conclusion to be reached is that any instructional procedure is effective which stimulates the interest of the student and produces desirable activity leading to educational accomplishment and intellectual growth."⁵ Walter

² Pedro T. Orata, "Measurement and Experimentation and Education for Independent Reconstruction," *Journal of Educational Research*, 30:1-13, September, 1936.

³ Louis E. Raths, "Basis for Comprehensive Evaluation," *Educational Research Bulletin*, 15:220-24, November 11, 1936.

⁴ G. Hartmann, *Gestalt Psychology* (New York, 1935), p. 269.

⁵ Carter V. Good, "Application of Research Findings Concerning Instructional Procedure to the Fields of Education, Psychology, and Teacher Training," *The Application of Research Findings to Current Educational Practices*, American Educational Research Association Yearbook, 1935, pp. 206-16.

S. Monroe echoes much of the same thought. He says, "It appears reasonable that the effectiveness of a method may be conditioned to such an extent by a teacher's confidence in it and the zeal and skill with which she applies it that the method itself is a minor factor in teaching success."⁶ Charles E. Prall has said, "Given reasonably competent and adequately motivated students, single variations in teaching procedures will generally produce similar results."⁷

The experimental method, in which an experimental group is compared with a control group by holding influencing factors constant except one which is allowed to vary, has serious limitations. First, it has been impossible to recognize, let alone control, all of the important factors influencing the learning of individuals as they participate in groups. Second, it has isolated a single factor and treated it as if it were meaningful even when withdrawn from the configuration which alone makes it meaningful. No wonder Dean Prall concludes his review of educational research by saying,

Except for its influence upon the staff, which has not by any means been negligible, single variable experiments at the collegiate level have been of little moment. They may generally be summarized by the classic phrase—the results are inconclusive and further experimentation is indicated.⁸

In considering a working concept of the character to be measured we have indicated objectives which teachers have selected. These are not single variables, and they are not meaningful when isolated from the total teaching situation. The experimental method, as rigidly defined, is

⁶ Walter S. Monroe, "Controlled Experimentation as a Means of Evaluating Methods of Teaching," *Review of Educational Research*, 4:36, February, 1934.

⁷ Charles E. Prall, "Changes at the College Level Which Would Follow the Broader Application of the Results of Research," *The Application of Research Findings to Current Educational Practices*, American Educational Research Association Yearbook, 1935, p. 211.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

not adequate in the problems set forth. We must move in the direction of evaluative social research. On the basis of a desired objective a teaching procedure is instituted which at a given time, with given students, and in the light of the objective promises maximum growth for the students. Activities are measured in terms of (1) qualities of the participation and amount of work done, (2) the effectiveness of the procedure for bringing about the desired results, (3) changes in the intellectual and emotional development of the child as the result of the application of the procedure.⁹

It was the desire of the writer to measure the reflective thinking of individuals as they participated in group discussion that led to my first evaluative research. After the concept was chosen it was necessary to bring it into working agreement with our second criterion of measurement.

A satisfactory representation of quantitative variations in the concept as possessed or exhibited by the phenomena to be measured. Reflective thinking is not directly perceptible, and yet to make a quantitative representation we must be able to find objectifying functions. We have as observable data the words of a language as they are spoken by the participants. It was first thought that objective functions of such an important concept might be found in the published literature. Some subjective propositions were found as thought-provoking statements and thought-provoking questions. It took trial-and-error experimentation to discover that independent observers can not make reliable records of such units. It is very important to realize, as Hader and Lindemann found in their exhaustive efforts, that units which are to be objective must not demand the observer to judge the purpose or pertinency of the individual participation.¹⁰ In order to pro-

⁹ Manuel C. Elmer, *Social Research* (New York, 1939), p. 249.

¹⁰ John J. Hader and Eduard Lindemann, *Dynamic Social Research* (New York, 1934), pp. 207-8.

ceed it seemed necessary to investigate the field of logic. Logicians replied that their rules of thinking were formulated and have been used largely in the written language. Scientific study of speech is a relatively unexplored field. Markey, however, has spoken without hesitation about the possibilities of such study. He says,

Speech reactions require a behavioristic analysis and by the use of the behavioristic method reflective behavior (thinking) and the symbolic process are actually observable and analyzable. In reality the observation of reflective behavior is an every-day occurrence.¹¹

This idea was accepted as a working proposition. It was assumed that the speech units must be genuinely objective, i.e., independent of the observer's judgment of their purpose or pertinency. The units to be meaningful must be chosen in such a way that the speech reactions may be broken down into relationships which make up reflective thought. Six units were finally constructed. These were Inference Question, Inference Statement, Supported Opinion, Information Question, Factual Statement, and Unsupported Opinion.¹² The plan involved a recording of these units on each occurrence under such a control that the resultant data would give a justifiable basis for inference as to interrelations with other segments of social interaction.¹³

It was recognized that the laboratory situation controls both the training and testing of pupils, whereas the school-room may control adequately only the testing proce-

¹¹ John F. Markey, *The Symbolic Process and Its Integration in Children* (New York, 1928), p. xi.

¹² For the definition of these units of observation the critical reader is referred to D. C. Miller, "An Experiment in the Measurement of Social Interaction in Group Discussion," *American Sociological Review*, 4:341-51, June, 1939; and "Measurement in Group Learning," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 13:241-49, December, 1939.

¹³ Alice Loomis, "Observation of Social Behavior in Industrial Work," *Social Forces*, 11:213, December, 1932.

dures.¹⁴ Therefore, our next problem was to select means of control over testing procedures. A representative sample was chosen from a population of 150 students enrolled in a course of educational psychology. These students were divided into four groups equated heterogeneously by measured intelligence. One of the morning classes meeting three periods a week was arbitrarily selected for observation. The group contained 34 students with a median intelligence percentile of .55, percentiles being derived by ranking 1,200 incoming freshmen on the basis of psychological entrance examinations. Independent observers recorded simultaneously all responses for each participant during 20 discussion meetings of 45 minutes each. Observer reliability, determined by percentage agreement, was shown to vary between 79 and 86 per cent, the average being 84. We could have confidence that our data were reasonably reliable.

Basis of quantitative comparison. The next step was to satisfy the third of our criteria for measurement, namely, a basis of quantitative comparison. "Ideally, we should, in all cases, have (1) an independent scale for measuring, (2) units that are mathematically derived, permanently fixed and universally similar; and a zero point that has been located on the scale."¹⁵ However, we should be severely limited if we were to insist upon such a rigid concept. "For practical purposes, the chief value of measurement is to provide a quantitative element of description which carries significance; the unit and the scale should be chosen accordingly in the light of the psychological background of the user."¹⁶

We shall assume that "measurement is essentially a comparison between a reference point (usually a mark on a

¹⁴ Robert A. Davis, "The Adaptability of Psychological Techniques to the Study of School Room Learning," *Journal of Educational Research*, 30:663-71, May, 1937.

¹⁵ Scates, *op. cit.*, *Journal of Experimental Education*, p. 312.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

scale) and the phenomenon." Scates says, "Reduced to its simplest terms, measurement is the comparison of any two quantities or degrees, one of which is taken as the reference point or basis of comparison for the other."¹⁷

In this specific research case the question arose as to whether fixed weights could be assigned by judges to the units of observation. Does an inference statement indicate more reflective thinking than an information question or a supported opinion? Does a fact statement mean that a less important contribution has been made when compared with an inference question or a supported opinion? It was not believed that these questions could be settled by *a priori* decision as, for example, in the weighting of opinions according to the agreement of judges in the Thurstone method of constructing an attitude scale. However, work with the data opened the way to the establishment of meaningful weights. When the five students determined by objective and essay examinations as the best were compared with five students determined in a similar fashion to be below average, differences in the types of responses could be identified. Table I shows these differences. The best students asked more than twice as many inference questions as the poorer students. The best students used inference statements in 27.7 per cent of their total responses, whereas only 18.5 per cent of these statements were utilized by the poorer group. Where the poorer students could generate and contribute no more than a factual statement, the best students would more frequently be asking inference questions and making inference statements. Thirty-three and five-tenths per cent of the responses employed by the best students were of this order. Eighteen and five-tenths per cent of the responses of the poorer group were of this nature. These responses are of importance to us be-

¹⁷ Scates, *op. cit.*, *Psychometrika*, p. 31; and *op. cit.*, *Journal of Experimental Education*, p. 299.

TABLE I
TYPES OF RESPONSE EMPLOYED BY FIVE SUPERIOR AND FIVE BELOW-AVERAGE STUDENTS
IN TWENTY DISCUSSION PERIODS

Student Number	Final Grade	Inference Question	Inference Statement	Supported Opinion	Information Question	Factual Statement	Unsupported Opinion	Total
27	A	9	25	7	6	39	3	89
4	A	3	10	3	1	22	2	41
9	B+	7	30	6	1	45	0	89
20	B+	1	16	1	4	32	1	55
24	B	3	29	17	8	63	3	123
Total		23	110	34	20	201	9	397
Per cent		5.8	27.7	8.6	5.0	50.6	2.3	100.0
1	C-	0	3	2	3	13	0	21
7	C-	0	8	2	0	14	0	24
34	C-	0	1	1	0	13	1	16
22	C-	0	1	3	3	14	3	24
28	C	3	7	3	3	23	0	39
Total		3	20	11	9	77	4	124
Per cent		2.4	16.1	8.9	7.3	62.1	3.2	100.0
Group 1 ÷ Group 2		2.4	1.7	.97	.68	.81	.72	

cause they indicate the ability of one individual during one participation to postulate preconditions and on the basis of such a beginning proceed to inquire or establish facts or principles. Weighting of the different response units has been carried out as a tentative measure in order to indicate their relationship to the objective criterion of final course grade. These weights have been derived by dividing the per cent of each type of response employed by superior students by the per cent of a similar type of response employed by below-average students. By so doing, Inference Question is weighted 2.4, Inference Statement 1.7, Supported Opinion .97, Information Question .68, Factual Statement .81, and Unsupported Opinion .72. However, the validity of the weights must be tested with many more cases than are now recorded.

Linear correlation revealed the following results in our research when applied to the discussions which were rated by judges as best among twenty. (1) The percentage number of inference questions, inference statements, and supported opinions offered by students vary inversely with the percentage number of information questions and fact statements of instructor. $r = -.94$.

(2) The percentage number of inference questions, inference statements, and supported opinions of students vary directly with the percentage number of inference questions by instructor. $r = .87$. This indicated that a greater use of inference questions by the instructor brings about an increase in inference questions, inference statements, and supported opinions which students contribute. An increase in information questions and fact statements employed by the instructor stunts student inferences, questions, and opinions.¹⁸

Note that no provision was made for a separate and distinct group to act as the traditional control group. The

¹⁸ D. C. Miller, *op. cit.*, *American Sociological Review*, 4:341-51, June, 1939.

kind of question you ask in evaluative social research makes this unnecessary. The teacher wants to know what approaches enable him to stimulate thinking and growth in his students. The instruments of measurement are not designed to isolate single variables and to find laws. With a time-sampling technique as used in this research the teacher is being evaluated, not in comparison with other teachers, but with himself as he works with the same group of participants during a similar period of time and with a relatively similar content. If a comparison of teaching leadership is desired, norms must be derived as other teachers evaluate their efforts with relatively similar purpose, content, procedure, and participants. This is regarded as of secondary importance. Our position has been that measurement is to indicate to the teacher his success in bringing about desirable changes in the development of his students' growth.

Group phenomena are of importance only as their representation indicates either directly or indirectly what is happening to the individual learner. In our research we examined such group phenomena as size and number of interludes, actual number and different percentages of responses by participants, the number of individual participations, the relation of the number of participations both to the final course grade as determined by the objective, information-seeking examination and to the personality traits of the students as measured by the Bernreuter Personal Inventory.

The interlude is defined as the interval beginning with the contribution of the leader and ending with the last statement or question raised by a student before the leader again participates. Low, constantly repeating interludes were characteristic of every discussion rated by judges as poor. Interludes for this particular group of participants seem satisfactory above four, extending often to a magni-

tude of ten. Above this, direction is needed. Even with continued experience in discussion the class was never able to maintain its self-direction above a ten-way interlude. Although discussions characterized by these larger interludes are often fast moving, lively, full of challenge and bombast, they do not bring satisfactory learning products. The participants reach a point where they need additional knowledge or guidance in a new direction. Hence, the necessity for expert leadership.

Examination of the different responses showed that 42 per cent were made by students who asked questions, reasoned from premises, and supported their opinions. The remaining 58 per cent of the responses were made by students who contributed factual information and gave unsupported opinions. The bulk of the participation was carried by ten students of the thirty-four in the discussion group. Students having top rankings in participation are good, but not excellent, students as measured by final course grades. An average score of 70 on the Bernreuter Inventory shows them to be dominant in face-to-face contacts. Those having the lowest participation rankings stamp many members as good students but reveal themselves as somewhat emotionally unstable, definitely introverted, submissive in face-to-face contacts, self-conscious with a tendency toward inferiority feelings. The remaining students may be generally classified as ambivalent personalities.

Conclusion: the relation of measurement to a theory of discussion as a teaching method. Evaluative research grows out of a philosophy which conceives the teaching situation as a configuration of *purpose, participants, procedure, and content*, the wholeness of which gives meaning to the constituent parts. Measurement finds its most useful function in the determination of the success of a teacher in directing pupils toward harmonious life adjustment

patterns. Measurement becomes thereby not an application of techniques set apart, but an integral function of teaching activity. In applying the instrument described or any other device which purports to measure aspects of discussion, it is the opinion of the writer that results are not evidence of the possibilities of discussion unless the procedure has been tried only when it promised maximum pupil growth. Three phases of the teaching situation may be best suited for discussion. The first phase is devoted to the expression of the opinions which students bring to the general problem. This may be called the untutored or common-sense level. From the slogans, catchwords, and stereotypes may be found the germ of specific problems. It may well be that discussion at this stage is characterized by dogmatic assertions. It is often observed that more heat than light is generated here. Many times, discussion has been put in ill repute because few teachers realize the careful planning that is necessary for the fruitful discussion in which precise learning is to take place. The discussion is, as I see it, not the best method of acquiring information. Once learners have found in the first discussion problems and motivation to pursue their specific problems, then they must be led into the logically organized mass of data. They shall be permitted to investigate every resource, known to them and their leader, for accurate information and for alternative interpretations. Recitation, lecture, supervised study, laboratory experience, projects, independent reading, or any other teaching procedure may be used to direct the learner toward the comprehension of these essential materials. Finally, discussion has a real place for the learner as an activity designed for the interpretation and organization of newly acquired information as it bears upon the problem. It is suggested that discussion will now be an optimum procedure for a group of individuals, as they contribute, first, their trained ex-

periences to the solution of the general problem and, second, their criticism of the position taken and the reasoning presented by their mature and well-trained leader. However, in concluding these remarks on the place of discussion the caution must be made that successful results are dependent upon qualified leadership, upon the educated intelligence, sympathetic insight, and habits of participation in the students, and the nature of the problems to be found in the content. Measurement of group learning always takes place in the midst of such variables.

EDUCATION AND CO-OPERATION IN SWEDEN

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● As early as the year 1869 Ründback, a pioneer in Swedish consumer co-operatives, published a book on *Cooperation*, in which he stressed the basic Rochdale principles and advocated the appropriation by consumer societies of two and a half per cent of their surplus for education and publicity purposes. In the year 1899 *Kooperativa Förbundet*, internationally known co-operative wholesale, was organized, and in 1904 it launched a program of educational activity with the publication of the magazine, *Cooperator*. In 1919 "K.F." organized its first correspondence courses for employees and members of co-operative societies. *Var Gard*, K.F.'s training school at Saltsjöbaden, was established in 1924. It was to serve as a center for publications, employee training, study circle, and correspondence course activity.

A few quotations from prominent leaders in the Swedish consumer co-operative movement will serve to answer the question as to why the Swedish co-operators deemed extensive educational and publicity work necessary.

Into all activities based upon democratic principles, education works as a necessary element and this applies especially to activities of the constructive character of Consumer Cooperation. Sound development requires that the masses, and more particularly the members, shall become as familiar as possible with the principles of cooperation.¹

In answer to the question, "Why did you go into this 'wholesale adult education'?" Axel Gjores, when in America in 1938, gave the following pertinent answer, "Because

¹ Axel Gjores, *Cooperation in Sweden*, 1927, p. 71.

it was absolutely necessary. We are compelled to carry on this extensive program if we want to build a soundly functioning and successful economic democracy. A cooperative you know is both a business and a school."²

Herman Stolpe, leading interpreter of Sweden's co-operative movement, states that

In the extent to which the cooperative movement has grown in depth and breadth and has come to comprise increasingly large areas of economic activity, it has become all the more urgent that the members should be provided richer opportunities to obtain knowledge of that activity over which they, in the last resort, have the deciding word. More and more people must be drawn into the common work, and they must be inspired with cooperative enthusiasm and well founded economic insight. A movement which is unceasingly faced with growing problems can only achieve good results in this direction if the requisite means for education and enlightenment are provided.³

Ragnar Lund, principal of Brevskolan, says of this pioneer work,

Adult education activity in Sweden has been taken up and carried on by the great social and cultural movements such as the temperance and labor movements. They aimed at realizing certain social and political objectives and in order to do this had to school their members and mold them culturally.⁴

In 1912 Rickard Sandler, recently retired Swedish Foreign Minister, organized "A.B.F." (Arbetarnes Bildnings Förbund) or the Workers' Educational Association. A.B.F. with over 100,000 members is and has been for years a close friend of consumer co-operation.

Sweden's co-operative movement has the interest and friendship of a liberal democratic government, a government that might well be termed a functioning democracy unafraid of social and economic experimentation, of re-

² Benson Landis, "Swedish Cooperatives Promote Adult Education," *Consumer Cooperation*, September, 1938, p. 132.

³ Herman Stolpe, *Cog or Collaborator*, pp. 6-7.

⁴ Ragnar Lund, *Swedish Adult Education*, p. 24.

search and the scholars who direct it. Gunnar Myrdal, leading Swedish economist, writing in a recent issue of *Survey Graphic*, states,

There is nothing particularly Swedish about our way of social life; it is the normal way of life of a people voluntarily redirecting and coordinating human and natural resources in order to increase the common good. We are prepared to face our problems squarely; we investigate our shortcomings intensively and use the technique of social engineering to plan for their removal. It is the very tension between recognized shortcomings and reform which denotes our democracy, not richness and complacency. The chief line of defense for a free people is to make democracy function effectively.⁵

What are the agencies of public opinion being employed by Sweden's co-operative movement, and how are these agencies being most effectively employed?

1. The *Swedish Folk High School Movement*, which dates back to 1868, has been patterned to a great extent after Bishop Grundtvig's Danish Folk Schools. There are fifty-five of these Folk high schools in Sweden, most of them located in rural areas, and their educational work is sufficiently of the Danish pattern to aid greatly the co-operative movement.

The Folk High School located at Jakobsberg, near Stockholm,

receives financial support from the State, the County, and the Cooperative Union. The students come chiefly from Cooperative Societies (about seventy per cent). No qualifications are demanded for entrance; many students have been members of the Study Circles or have studied under the Cooperative Correspondence School.⁶

2. Libraries.

At present there are about 8,200 state supported public libraries in Sweden. Of these, 1,350 are *people's libraries* and 5,100 *study circles' libraries*, and 1,750 are *school libraries*. These libraries own more than

⁵ Gunnar Myrdal, "Defenses of Democracy," *Survey Graphic*, May, 1939, p. 310.

⁶ W. H. Marwick, *Adult Education in Sweden*, p. 14.

seven million volumes and the number of their loans for each year amounts to 15.5 millions. It can be reckoned that between one third and a half of the country's inhabitants avail themselves of the educational facilities provided by the public libraries.⁷

Number of book loans by people's libraries, study circles, and school libraries.

1908	1913	1920	1927	1930	1937	1939
600,000	1,067,000	2,854,000	5,936,000	9,099,000	15,488,000,	17,400,000

Recognizing the close relationship of the 5,100 study circle libraries and the large proportion of books on social and economic problems to be found in Sweden's public-aided libraries as well as the heavy withdrawal of the same, one can readily see the important role libraries play in building a social philosophy that is basic to an understanding of the co-operative movement.

3. *Radio and moving pictures.* Under the national wireless service (Radiotjänst), Wireless Education Service was founded in 1932. Facilities of this service are available to K.F. for educational and publicity broadcasts and are regularly used by large numbers of "study circles."

"Svenskfilm industri" has co-operated with K.F. in the production of a number of films combining educational and publicity features. In fact, Greta Garbo first had a movie part in a film being made to advertise K.F. oleo-margarine. Axel Gjores in referring to the importance of the cinema says, "The film has now become an important vehicle of general education and propaganda and K.F. accordingly has had prepared a number of instructional films."⁸

4. *Specific educational agencies used in the consumer co-operative movement in Sweden.*

⁷ Lund, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

⁸ Gjores, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

A. Var Gard, the Cooperative Training School, "not only provides oral instruction courses for shop assistants, and managers employed in the shops of the different societies, but also shorter courses for committee members and representatives of youth organizations and women's guilds."⁹

Employees who are continuously meeting and serving patrons in the many "Konsum" shops scattered throughout Sweden are among the co-operative movement's best publicity agents. Courteous, efficient service; clean, attractive, well-managed shops together with high quality goods; and savings in proportion to the amount purchased—no wonder "Konsum" stores are held in such high favor in Sweden.

The well-organized training courses in shop management, shop arrangement and decoration, customer service, and commodity analysis, which Var Gard provides in its model shops, classrooms, and laboratories, equip "Konsum" employees very well for their positions.

Instructors from "Var Gard" also visit the societies, hold meetings in the evenings *in a shop* and *take part in the shop work during the day*. The same kind of contact is created between "Var Gard" and boards of directors, member councils, and groups in the cooperative societies by visits undertaken by "Var Gard's" staff members when meetings for discussion are held with members and officers.¹⁰

B. K.F. has a special institution for correspondence education, "Brevskolan" (the Letter School), which is noted for its adaptation of the correspondence method to the needs of the study circles.

"Brevskolan," the correspondence school of K.F., collaborates with other adult education organizations such as trade unions, as well as the political and idealistic organizations of Sweden, and scholarships are avail-

⁹ Hjalmar Degerstedt, executive in K.F. (personal letter received, August 15, 1939).

¹⁰ H. Elldin, *Educational Work in Var Gard*, p. 4.

able to their members. The courses of "Brevskolan" cover a wide range; however, special stress is laid on cooperation, as well as other social and economic subjects.¹¹

From the beginning, correspondence courses have been available for individual study of designated books and outlines, and thousands of loyal friends of the co-operative movement have been won through these channels. However, group study has come to the fore so rapidly in the last decade that we must devote our attention to this remarkable development. "The most noteworthy of the pedagogic new creations of adult education in Sweden is undoubtedly the study circle, the 'circle of comrades.' It is Swedish in origin and in Sweden it has developed amazingly."¹²

The group correspondence method as used today might be outlined as follows:

(1) Organization of a study circle of from ten to fifteen persons who meet once a week to study a subject which they choose themselves. (2) The selection of a leader from the membership of the group of persons or from the Brevskolan headquarters, or if the group prefers, it may carry on without a regular leader. (3) Each member studies privately according to study guides provided in the interim between meetings. (4) The circle meets to discuss freely and democratically the results of the member's homework and to compile answers to the questions contained in the lessons. (5) The circle's answers to the questions are sent in by letter to the school for correction and criticism. (6) The circle discusses the teacher's criticisms of corrected lessons before proceeding with new questions.¹³

Typical questions for discussion by study groups are the following taken from the study guide on co-operation by Herman Stolpe.

(1) What distinguishes a consumer society from other co-operative enterprises? (2) What distinguishes a consumer society from a private

¹¹ Degerstedt, *op. cit.*

¹² Lund, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹³ Ragnar Lund, *Cooperative Correspondence Tuition*, pp. 7-12.

enterprise? (3) Why is the principle of cash trade necessary? (4) Why must a consumer society build on its own capital? (5) Why should dividends be in proportion to purchases?¹⁴

C. Publicity and propaganda media employed by K.F. Foremost among K.F.'s numerous publication activities comes the weekly magazine *Vi* ("We") with a circulation of 600,000, which is the largest of all regular publications in Sweden. Though a relatively small amount of space in the magazine *Vi* is devoted to co-operative subjects, the very attractive make-up and the wide variety of interesting and entertaining articles, stories, poems, and illustrations found in the magazine undoubtedly win friendship and patronage of many people for the co-operative movement.

Referring to the importance of K.F.'s publishing activity, Herman Stolpe says,

It would be no exaggeration to assert that the very foundation for the education of members that is carried on by the Swedish Consumer Co-operative Movement of today is Kooperativa Förbundet's publishing activity. K.F. started its publishing department at an early date, and this department has developed into Sweden's foremost publisher of literature in economic, social, and cooperative questions. K.F. does not confine itself to the publication of books and pamphlets on internal cooperation subjects but publishes a good economic literature dealing with the various problems of social and economic life, and for this purpose has secured as authors the foremost Swedish experts in various spheres. Behind this extensive publishing activity lies the firm conviction that the Cooperative Movement, which constitutes an integral part of the national economic system, can only win strength and power to extend if its membership is permeated by a good general economic insight which facilitates a sound appraisal of the cooperative movement in relation to the economic life at large.¹⁵

What evidence do we have that a public opinion favorable to the consumers' co-operative movement is being effectively formed in Sweden?

¹⁴ Herman Stolpe, *Cooperation* (in Swedish), pp. 6-26.

¹⁵ Stolpe, *Cog or Collaborator*, pp. 10-11.

1. Continuous growth in membership and volume of sales certainly reflect a public opinion favorable to the movement. K.F. reports for 1939 show a membership total of 669,429, an increase of 35,000 over 1938. The total volume of sales for 1939 reached 589 million kronor, an increase of 11 per cent over 1938. During the third quarter of 1939, the period of the outbreak of the war, sales were 17 per cent higher than in the same period in 1938.¹⁶

2. Sixteen thousand active study circles each with an enrollment of ten to fifteen members, twelve thousand women organized in guilds, six hundred thousand subscribers to the co-operative magazine *Vi*—these facts afford additional evidence of the interest Swedes have in their co-operative movement. Axel Gjores says of the educational work of the co-operative movement,

To test the results of educational activities is somewhat difficult. This cannot be judged adequately by figures since the effects of the educational efforts are not immediately visible. If, however, we may judge by the spirit obtained in the movement and expressed in a devoted and therefore all the more successful method of practising cooperation, the verdict must be that the educational work has been singularly fruitful.¹⁷

What is "Konsum Kooperativa" doing to aid Sweden in the present crisis? Public opinion certainly has been favorably conditioned toward the co-operative movement by reason of the full-fledged support the entire consumers' co-operative movement is giving the government in its emergency program of conservation and national defense. A few examples will provide evidence to support this statement.

1. The full power of K.F. has been used to maintain fair price levels.

From August 1939 to May 1940, the index of "K.F." prices on 28 basic commodities has averaged two points below that of the general retail

¹⁶ Herman Stolpe, "Forward March in Crisis," *Vi*, April 27, 1940.

¹⁷ Gjores, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

price index on the same commodities. During the first month of the war, August of 1939, the average increase of all cooperative prices was six per cent while the increase from August 1939 to June 1940 averaged 14.2 per cent.¹⁸

The significance of the foregoing data is made clearer when we note that price increases on imported goods from August to December, 1939, averaged 46 per cent, while during the months of April and May of 1940, when the bulk of importing had stopped due to blockade conditions, general price increases averaged only .7 per cent. Thus we see how a benevolent government through price control legislation and an effective co-operative movement have combined to protect Swedish consumers from war profiteering.

Maintaining a decent living standard in crisis times when the family economy is badly upset is no easy task, but the Swedish people with their high degree of economic and social literacy are actively engaged in studying the war crisis problems as they arise. Planning, sacrificing, conserving, co-operating are a part of the Swedish way of life. A recent educational advertisement in the co-operative magazine *Vi* states the issue as follows: "Stop to consider your responsibilities in this time of crisis, do not live beyond your income. Strive for real saving and put your savings to work in your country's behalf through the purchase of preparedness loan certificates; Buy Co-operatively."

2. In the national campaign to conserve the land's resources, K.F. and its affiliates have won much favorable public recognition by (a) directing educational activities of the Women's Guilds toward conservation in the home. Var Gard, co-operative training school, is preparing home economists so that they can serve as study group leaders all over the country, and many new courses have been or-

¹⁸ Helmer Olson, "Price Increase," *Vi*, July 13, 1940.

ganized and designed to meet the problems of the emergency. An example is a course in Utility Home Gardening, made available last March and organized to train for maximum production of useful, vitamin-rich, home garden products. (b) Organizing and directing a national wild berry picking campaign. Through the co-operative magazine *Vi*, families were urged to get out into the country to pick the abundant crops of *lingen* and *nypon* berries, which are rich in vitamin content, and K.F. offered to purchase berries or to pack them for families lacking facilities.

3. Konsum Kooperativa is working in close co-operation with the government in its program of national defense. (a) In supporting the National Defense Loan of 150 million kronor continuous publicity has appeared in the magazine *Vi*, and certificates have been placed on sale in all "Konsum" stores. As early as June 15, sales of these preparedness certificates through "Konsum" units reached a total of five million kronor. (b) To lighten the burden of soldiers serving their country in remote places, K.F. has conducted a campaign to obtain books, radios, and phonographs to be sent to these men. Co-operative societies have responded generously to the appeal. (c) One of the most important contributions being made to the nation's defense by the co-operative movement is that of building up the morale of the people. Artistic and effective billboard posters and full-page spreads in *Vi* rally the people's spirit. Intelligent and highly patriotic appeals are made through magazine and newspaper articles and radio talks. A good example of such patriotic appeals is found in the following quotation from an article by Eyvond Johnson entitled, "We must hold out!" which appeared in the July 6 edition of *Vi*.

What we have to preserve, both against hostile invasion and hostile thoughts, is our freedom and our right to continue to live as a free

people. Sweden must stand with all her weapons prepared, with spirits high repeating with genuine conviction the words, hold out! We must believe that the positive, the edifying, the higher cause shall win out in the world even though the strife is of long duration. Our position is established. We are a democratic and a free land; and our supreme challenge is, *that we hold out!*

Conclusions: Careful review of the literature and correspondence with authorities on the Swedish consumers' co-operative movement leads the writer to conclude that important factors in the success of this movement have been: 1. The acceptance by the leaders of K.F. of the principle that education is a basic element of co-operation. 2. The organization and direction of study circles, women's guilds, and correspondence courses which serve members and nonmembers alike in building up in Sweden a high degree of social and economic literacy which seems fundamental to the success of consumer co-operation. 3. The assistance of such educational agencies as the Folk High School, the people's and school libraries, together with the educational divisions of the radio and film industries. 4. The fine interest and friendship of a liberal, democratic government alert to the advantages for the nation of a vital, functioning co-operative movement. 5. The willingness of the leaders of K.F. to adapt the organization and its educational facilities to the needs of the country in time of national emergency.

SOCIAL DISTANCE IN THE YOUTH HOSTEL MOVEMENT

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● That breakdown of individual and group distances is a solution to social problems is a central assumption in the ideology of the youth hostel movement. The belief is reiterated that young people of all countries, wandering together and making friends in the hostels, will lay the foundations of a lasting world peace. This is an unusually vivid application of the social distance theory of social problems, which "rests on the assumption that there would be no social problems *if there were complete understanding and fellow feeling.*"¹

Hosteling is essentially a "back to nature" recreation movement of middle-class intellectual youth of high school and college age. Hostels are inexpensive (twenty-five cents in America) overnight lodgings, open to all who pay the nominal fee for passes in the nonprofit national association, and who bicycle, hike, canoe, ski, or travel on horseback between them. Separate dormitories and washrooms for boys and girls, a common recreation room, and cooking facilities are the essential equipment. "Hostel parents" are married couples who sincerely like young people and are willing to carry on the work of friendly supervision and of making the hostellers feel at home.

Before the present war there were approximately five thousand hostels in twenty-five countries in which eleven million "overnights" were registered in 1938. Founded in 1910 by Richard Schirrmann, a German schoolteacher, hosteling began as a movement to get the youngsters away

¹ E. S. Bogardus, *Sociology and Social Research*, 12:469-72, 1928.

from the "stone deserts" of the cities.² As the friendliness of the hostel situation became apparent, wandering and staying in hostels were seen as a means of creating German national unity after the World War. "Hostels shall put themselves in the service of melting together the people and eliminating class differences, in order to build a true, united German people."³

The final step in the broadening of objectives came about 1930, when the movement had spread to a number of countries. A myth of a "brotherhood of man," a warless world community built through the friendship and understanding of hostellers of different nations, was developed.

This article proposes to examine the bases of this "peace myth" and their agreement or variance with social distance theory. What factors in the hostel are thought to break down social distance? Do the attitudes of hostellers support the ideological beliefs?

Materials used in attempting to answer these questions include the findings from questionnaire interviews personally administered to 100 European and 50 American hostellers, from interviews with 10 hostel parents in the British Isles and 10 in America, and from a mass of literature from many countries. All these materials are checked against an apperceptive mass formed through long personal acquaintance with the movement.⁴

Because the highest development of the hostel myth is the ideal of a brotherhood of man, *esprit de corps*, "the sense which people have of belonging together and of being identified with one another," is especially significant. It is developed mostly through informal fellowship.

The publicity and periodicals of the national associa-

² See forthcoming article by Mr. Biesanz, "The German Youth Hostel," in *Social Forces*, March, 1941.

³ German hostel pamphlet, 1923.

⁴ Mr. Biesanz stayed in hostels most of the year 1934-35 while in Europe, and almost exclusively while gathering material in 20 countries for a doctoral dissertation in Sociology at the State University of Iowa, in 1938-39.

tions abound in clues to the means by which informal fellowship is developed. The hostel situation is vividly defined in the literature, helping create an anticipatory attitude and a conception of an ideal hostel on the part of hostellers. One example follows:

Don't stay isolated in a corner. Be a friend of the comrades who arrive, searching to know what they know and what they think, especially if they are strangers. Aid the young. . . . Be polite with the comrades. There is hostel politeness, more familiar without doubt than other forms of politeness, but as precise. . .

In the evening around the campfire don't think it ridiculous to sing and play joyously with the others; the hostel should contain only one fraternal group.⁵

So effective has this definition proved, when other factors are favorable, that German Nazis after a day away from home danced with German Jewesses in the central London hostel, in March, 1939. A few days later a German boy talked with Jewish refugees. As a Canadian hosteler said, "Only in a hostel and with the stimulus of a common language would such a phenomenon take place."

The nature of hosteling as a play movement also helps build an anticipatory attitude. "Those who enter have left the weekday spirit at home; they have come for the experience and for the joy, and therefore they are open and willing for understanding, mutual recognition, and honor."⁶

The questionnaires indicate that the hosteler has accepted this definition of the situation and has a group of expectations which facilitate fellowship. He hopes to meet people, make friends, and find himself in a friendly atmosphere. Ninety-six statements on the one hundred European questionnaires indicated such reasons for hos-

⁵ Dominique Magnant, Member of the Central Committee, in *L'Auberge de La Jeunesse*, March, 1939, p. 1.

⁶ "Von Weg und Wesen," *Die Staatspolitische Bedeutung des Jugendherbergswerks*, 1931, p. 55.

teling as, "it's sociable," "for companionship," "to meet people," and "I like the atmosphere."

The position of the hosteler is that of Simmel's sociological "stranger," whose characteristics are mobility, objectivity, freedom from convention, abstract relations, and a role as a confidant. The hostelers away from their studies or work in a particular locus are in a condition encouraging frank appraisal and discussion of matters that concern them; they are not held in check by the various controls of the community. They are away from rigid and conventional definitions of the situation, and their stereotypes are thrown into flux.

Because hosteling is still a limited and voluntary movement in most countries, it is logical to assume a community of interests among hostelers. The common denominator of hostelers' interests is outdoor life and wandering. As it happens, there is usually even more in common; age, class, occupation, and economic status are usually very similar, according to observation and a sample study, made by the writers, of over five thousand overnights in New England in 1939. Consciousness of kind or realization of common interests does much to diminish personal and social distance.

The definition of the hostel situation is such that anyone who does not show the "true hostel spirit" of friendliness and comradeship loses status. The hosteler who wishes to protect his status tries to exhibit this spirit. Personality and friendliness are measures of status in the hostel group; therefore, even one who may not feel friendly will participate in conversation, singing, and the other activities so that he will not lose status. This bears out Bogardus' generalization that: "A person will shift quickly from an unfavorable to a favorable attitude when by so doing he may protect his status."⁷

⁷ E. S. Bogardus, *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 11:71-84.

The operation of these influences tending to break down social distance, the anticipatory attitude created by a predefinition of the situation, the community of interests, and the desire to protect one's status, is greatly affected by such physical factors as the structure of the hostel. From their varied experiences, for hostels range "from huts to castles," the hostellers tend to develop a conception of an ideal hostel. Their attitudes toward hostels are correlated with the amount and kind of facilities for social intercourse. Cooking and eating arrangements which bring people together in an informal group are essential. The more common activities that are encouraged—by equipment for games, a pleasant recreation room, dormitories—the more positive are the hostellers' attitudes. Small hostels and small groups are favored. The hostellers are out for fun and friendship. Personal distance increases as the numbers in contact increase and as spatial distribution increases.⁸

Language can also be a barrier to, as well as a facility for, social intercourse. There is a centripetal attraction among those speaking the same language, but this tendency is somewhat offset by the desire to learn foreign languages, the desire to learn the other man's point of view, and the general atmosphere of sociability that pervades hostel life.

The close, friendly, and co-operative contacts of hostel life do not permit shyness. In this situation the elimination of physical distance leads to a diminution of social distance. Physical closeness does not in itself make for sympathetic contacts; in the cheap hotel or Salvation Army type of lodging suspicion and distrust may even increase with physical proximity. Here each man would want a private room if he could have it, and at a minimum he is given a locker. In the hostel, with the exception of

⁸ W. C. Poole, Jr., *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 11:365-69, 1927.

those in large cities, there are no lockers, and the average hosteler would feel cut out of things if he were given a private room. Thus, it is not the physical structure alone, but the structure in relation to the definition of the situation—hostel code, tradition, previous experiences—that makes the hostel conducive to pleasant social intercourse, and hence creates positive attitudes toward the hostel situation.

These findings are in full agreement with the statement that: "Close spatial relationships lead mutually to friendly attitudes when such relationships advance the welfare, and meet the needs of all concerned."⁹

The physical structure of the hostel, it has been noted, generates positive attitudes when it facilitates contact and joint activity. Hostelers meeting for the first time often cook meals together and continue hiking or biking with their new friends. This is a very decisive element in breaking down social distance. Hostel literature abounds in statements to the effect that co-operation and joint participation make the hostelers friends. For example,

Twenty-four hours have been sufficient to make those in the hostel feel one company of friends. You have bathed, looked upon the sights of the environs, . . . and then in the evening you have been gathered about the camp-fire.¹⁰

The leveling function of the hostel also is very important to the ideology. All pay the same price and are treated alike; no one can purchase better accommodations. Favorite examples of this leveling function are accounts of slum children and Harvard men sharing a hostel. The hostel is thus a working democracy, in which there is no opportunity for conspicuous consumption.

The fallacious assumption that contact will necessarily result in friendship does appear in hostel literature.

⁹ E. S. Bogardus, *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 32.

¹⁰ *Social Demokraten*, Denmark, January 5, 1938.

A friend once said to Charles Lamb that he wouldn't hate a certain person if he knew him. Lamb answered: "Of course not; I don't like him because I don't know him." The hostels enable the young men of all nations to get to know one another, and thus to like each other.¹¹

Such statements must, however, be understood in the light of the belief of all participants in the hostel movement that co-operative recreation and absence of distinction will make the hostellers, already disposed to be friendly, get to know one another. This belief is very strong in the hostel parents, and they have a clear-cut conception of their own role in defining the situation and facilitating mixing. They often start folk dancing, songs around a fire, and games.

This assumption that contact in the hostel will almost invariably result in friendship is based on the theory that objective personal distance—the actual difference in the interests and values of individuals—is usually much less than the subjective aspect of personal distance. The mutation of subjective distance to harmonize more closely with the actual differences is believed to be facilitated by the hosteller's position as sociological stranger in the informal, objective hostel situation. Of course, if actual differences turn out to be greater than the subjective ones, personal distance will increase; but the opposite mutation is usually expected.

With the hostellers and hostel parents so strongly back of the belief that the hostel situation breaks down social distance between persons, one can accept the predominance of informal fellowship and friendliness within the hostel. More questionable, perhaps, is the logic by which this informal fellowship serves as the crux of the broader ideological objectives. The basis of internationalism is seen in the transfer of personal-distance breakdowns to

¹¹ Lord Snell at the International Hostel Conference in London, October 17, 1934.

group social distance. Strong sociological backing for this belief is not lacking.

Intimacy always tends to operate as a destructive factor to all social distance, to dissolve the old social organization, and to lay the basis for a new one.¹²

There is no way of preserving existing social barriers, except by preserving the existing animosities that buttress them. . . . True friendships, particularly in a democratic society like our own, cut across and eventually undermine all barriers of racial segregation and caste, by which races seek to maintain their integrity.¹³

The hostel situation, then, ideally demands disregard of norms of group social distance such as class, nationality, and wealth. That these norms will disintegrate and vertical categorical distinctions be dissolved through a transfer of personal intimacy and understanding to the group is the hope of hostel leaders.

These beliefs in the efficacy of the hostel situation in fostering informal fellowship and thus laying the basis for a brotherhood of man are, of course, based on a concept of an ideal hostel and of predominant factors or absence of complicating factors. Questionnaires and interviews, and to some extent hostel literature, disclose the effect of certain elements in retarding the breakdown of social distance.

Group hosteling may be conducive to mutations in social distance within the group itself, but it retards mixing with others in the hostel. Perhaps the most frequent complaint of lack of the "true hostel spirit" is in connection with the hampering of the development of *esprit de corps* by cliques. This is a situation in which close spatial relationships eventuate in indifference when individuals can meet their desires in mutually exclusive groups.

¹² Herbert Blumer, lecture notes from a course in Collective Behavior, University of Chicago.

¹³ Robert E. Park, "Behind Our Masks," *Survey*, 56:139, May, 1926.

The findings from our study of hostel literature and the attitudes of the personnel within the movement seem to warrant the following conclusions:

The kernel of the ideology of the hostel movement lies in the breakdown of social distance between persons and thus between their respective groups.

The specific aspects of hostel life believed to contribute toward this end are those regarded by theorists as breaking down social distance: an anticipatory attitude of friendliness, physical nearness, absence of class distinctions, shared recreational activities, and an absence of cliques.

THE CHURCH AND CHANGING ECOLOGICAL DOMINANCE

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● The history of the church from its inception to the modern "skyscraper" temple provides an example of ecological dominance in community organization and among communal institutions.

A communal institution, in the sense in which it is used in this paper, may be defined as a standardized and relatively stable means of meeting a constantly, or at least frequently, recurring human situation. The church has numerous human situations to meet, not the least of which is its adjustment to a changing complex environment. With each change in the ecological organization of its habitat, there must come a corresponding change in the position of dominance the church occupies in the community pattern.

As a community pattern is being formed, certain institutions become dominant while others take a subordinate position. These dominant institutions, or services, act as integrating centers about which others cluster because of certain symbiotic relationships. The subordinate institutions derive certain advantages, or benefits, from their proximity to the dominant ones. For example, about large theaters may be clustered services of various types, such as restaurants, soft-drink stands, ice-cream parlors, candy shops, cigar stores, parking stations, and the like.

These subordinate institutions, or services, do not possess sufficient pull to draw the aggregations of human units to themselves but exploit their relations to the dominant institutions. Wherever one turns, whether in the metropolitan center or the suburban community, examples of

this relationship of dominance and subordination in the communal pattern will be found. In the metropolitan center it may be the theater, as suggested; it may be the great department store, surrounded with specialty shops and services of various kinds; it may be the hotel, surrounded by parking stations and other services designed to meet the needs of the hotel population. In the suburban community it may be the school or the church. Whatever the dominant institution may be, it will exercise considerable influence in shaping the communal pattern and will resist structural change in that pattern.

Indices of Dominance. While the factors determining the position of dominance of any institution are somewhat difficult to isolate, the following are at least significant in relation to the church: (1) the degree of spatial fixity maintained by an institution despite the pressure from increasing land values, (2) the degree of magnetism indicated by its ability to draw people to itself, and (3) the number of services drawn to it and existing in a sustenance relationship to it.

In every community processes of competition are in operation among the various institutions that determine which of these shall be dominant and which subordinate. Communal patterns are constantly changing, and, as a consequence, certain institutions within that pattern are affected. Ultimately the dominant ones will occupy the strategic positions, and all others will be compelled to accept the role of subordination and will be adjusted about the dominant institutions in sustenance relationships.

It is this shifting position of dominance as it relates to the church that this paper seeks to reveal. The purpose is to trace the changing position of ecological dominance during selected periods in the history of the church. No attempt is made to evaluate the influence of the church upon the spiritual life of its adherents or the social life of the

community as a whole. Interest is limited to the church as a communal institution influencing, and in turn being influenced by, the various environmental factors in its habitat.

A study of dominance leads one to look into the history of the institution in an attempt to discover something of its place in the early communal pattern, and to follow the process of adjustment during a considerable period in its subsequent history.

The Jewish Tabernacle. An early forerunner of the church is to be found in the traditional Jewish Tabernacle:

... the elaborate portable sanctuary which Moses erected at Sinai in accordance with Divine instructions as a place of worship for the Hebrew tribes during, and after, their wilderness wanderings.¹

Whatever may have been its form, this tabernacle symbolized to the Jew the unity, majesty, and, above all, the holiness of God, and provided an earthly habitation in which a holy God was supposed to dwell in the midst of a holy people.² It was a portable affair, carried by the Israelites in their wandering from place to place, and when a new camp was established the tabernacle became the integrating center about which it was organized. To this center the members of the tribe came each day to engage in the various ritualistic ceremonies incident to their religion. The tents of each tribe were located in a definite relation to it; in fact, much of the social life of the Hebrew was in relation to the tabernacle, the dwelling place of his God.

The Temple. The tabernacle maintained this position of dominance during the nomadic career of the Jews, or until the advent of Solomon's Temple. The temple, a building of elaborate design and structure made possible

¹ James Hastings, "Temple," *Dictionary of the Bible*.

² See *Exodus* 25 and *Ezekiel* 37.

by the more stable communal life of the Jew at that period, now became the integrating center of the community and the major religious and social institution. The temple, like the tabernacle, was the supposed dwelling place of Deity. It was, however, more than this. It housed a number of political, economic, and social services drawn there to meet needs that arose because the ritualism of the religious services compelled the people to make frequent visits to the temple. Here was the Publican tax collector at his desk. The temple tax must be paid with a certain coin; so here was the money-changer, offering his services to meet this requirement. The market man was here to provide birds and animals for the required sacrifices and to supply other provisions to the worshipers who had come from a distance. Here, also, was the "hall of justice," where the Sanhedrin held its sessions. These and other services, supplying the needs of the people and the rulers, were all to be found at the temple, thus giving it a large place in the entire life of the Jewish community.

The temple maintained at least a relative degree of dominance until 70 A.D. Unlike the tabernacle, it extended its control far beyond the confines of a single Jewish community. No matter at what distance from Jerusalem an individual might be located, the temple still remained the center to which he looked and to which, in the performance of his religious duties, he must make his pilgrimage from time to time.

The Christian Church. The Christian Church stems from the Jewish Temple. Once it was instituted, it spread rather rapidly over the Roman Empire and throughout the civilized world. The temple had been the focal point at which the entire life of the people centered, the locus about which the communal pattern was integrated. The Christian church in assuming this function for the non-Jewish people, recapitulated to some extent the history of

the old Jewish institution, but with significant differences. The tabernacle, according to tradition, from its first appearance held a position of almost complete dominance in the communal pattern of the early nomadic Jew. The church in its earliest beginnings was almost, if not quite, a secret society, meeting in caves and other isolated places where there was the least danger of being discovered. Under these circumstances it exercised no integrating force determining the form of the communal pattern. In fact, its very life depended upon its being inconspicuous. The church, however, grew out of this stage and in time developed an organization, constructed elaborate buildings, and came to be recognized as a significant factor in determining the pattern of many communities.

The Cathedral. The tendency to develop elaborate structures culminated in the great cathedrals of the Catholic church. Many of these rose to a position of dominance in the communities in which they were located. An illustration of this is to be found in St. Peter's of Rome. In the center of the old Papal city stands this great cathedral, forming not only the ecological but the social, political, and religious center of the city. In numerous communities on the continent and in England may be found these great institutions which have been the dominant community centers for years.

St. Paul's of London furnishes another example:

Situated in the heart of the city of London, it has ever been associated with the religious, social, and civic life of the people . . . The present cathedral, erected by Sir Christopher Wren, is the third edifice built upon this site . . . the earliest of which we have sure record was erected in the year 610 . . . St. Paul's has been the center of life in London. The great bell summoned London citizens to their three annual folk moots at Paul's cross, where all the municipal business of the city was transacted, disputes settled, grievances stated and rights vindicated.³

³ P. H. Ditchfield, *The Cathedrals of Great Britain*, p. 13.

From this description of its function, the drawing power of this cathedral upon the community becomes evident. It is also evident that this dominant position was maintained largely because of its complex functions, each of which tended to exercise a pull upon the human units and draw them to itself. In speaking of the functions of St. Paul's Cathedral in the early days, Francis Osborn says:

It was the fashion in those days and did so continue to these, for the principal gentry, lords and courtiers, and men of all professions, to meet in St. Paul's by eleven of the clock, and walk in the middle aisle till twelve, and after dinner from three to six during which time they discoursed of business, others of news.⁴

The cathedral had other functions that partook more of the nature of the centralization of business interests and services than those ordinarily thought of as belonging particularly to a place of worship.

Here lawyers received their clients; here men sought services; here usurers met their victims, and the tombs and font were mightily convenient for counters for the exchangers of money, and the transcriptions of bargains, and the rattle of gold and silver was constantly heard amidst the loud talking of the crowd.⁵

These functions were important factors in determining the position the cathedral occupied. In this one institution were gathered most of the activities ordinarily found in the business section of a city. A roll of those employed at St. Paul's about the time of the Reformation included among many others: the Master of the singing school, the Master of the grammar school, the Surveyor, the Scribes, the Book Binder, the Chamberlain, the Rent Collector, the Baker, the Brewer, and a host of others whose duties were indicative of a variety of services centered in the cathedral and in its immediate precincts.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

The position held by St. Paul's is representative of practically all the old cathedrals in their respective communities up to the time of the Reformation and for a number of years following. The coming of the Reformation with its disintegrating effects upon the Catholic church greatly retarded the extension of this type of institution.

The New England Village Church. Passing over a considerable period of history and coming to the American continent during the last half of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, we find the church a somewhat different institution from the one just described, yet occupying a position of dominance in the community. Here, in the days of the pioneer with a village economy, the church was the institution around which the community was integrated. Professor Phelan, in discussing the organization of the rural New England communities, says:

First and foremost stood the church with its services, the social center of the town. When we remember that the country towns were nearly isolated from the outside world; that the only travel was by stage coach or private carriage, and was seldom indulged in, it seems but natural that the people should have turned to the church, where . . . all must go or be labored with by the minister and deacons. So it came to pass that this was the one thing in which all were interested, in which all had a share. When we remember, too, how large a part religion played in the minds and hearts of our ancestors, it is inevitable that the church should stand as the most important and unifying factor of their lives.

On Sundays nearly everyone went to meeting and stayed all day. The women were expected to go to church all day as well as the men . . . The church, aside from its spiritual teaching, furnished a place in which all the town met once a week. It was more or less political in the broader sense, for there were matters of national politics, state politics, and even those of local importance which were discussed by the minister.

In the church, also, were held the town meetings, with their serious, and sometimes humorous debates, which furnished a means of growth and expression to others.⁶

⁶ John Phelan, *Readings in Rural Sociology*, p. 422.

Because of the position just described it was the church more than any other institution that established the center and set the boundaries of the trade area of the New England community. It exercised considerable control over the movements of most of the residents and over the pattern of community organization in the territory in which it was located.

The Crossroads Church. As settlements moved out from New England westward and families pushed out on the farms, the village pattern gave way to the more thickly settled open country. The village church was replaced by the "church at the cross roads." Here it exercised a drawing power over a considerable area. It was the only institution making a relatively universal appeal to the community. It had an open field so far as competition from the outside was concerned.

There was no pull to the city, for the cities were small, as they must needs be, since there was not the wherewithal to feed a large city population, nor adequate means of transportation. Labor was cheap, land was cheap, living was cheap; and the farm was mainly the means of supporting a large family cheaply. There was no land lord, no tenants. While no one was getting rich, all but the incompetent were getting ahead, and the minister was the big man in the community—"guide, philosopher, and friend" to all, a counselor in sickness or sorrow and adviser in trouble.⁷

All this gave the open country church a place of importance as an integrating center for the open country in much the same way that the village church had been an integrating center for the village.

This condition began to change when the farm emerged from "the wood" and the rich fertile soil of the prairie was settled. Farms became larger and distances greater. The Homestead Act, granting 160 acres of land to any landless person at the cost of surveying, "drew the population out into the open country on the frontier." The railroad came

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

in to facilitate transportation and to fix the structural pattern of the country. Power-driven farm machinery appeared and served to decrease the rural population per square mile. A new era of community organization was introduced.

The Town and City Church. The sparsely settled country called for a new type of communal organization. Social institutions began to leave the open country and concentrate in the towns. The rural population

... rarely had its own stores, and in many cases has given up its former social institutions. . . Just as the more prosperous farmer has become accustomed to drive past the one time busy country store on his way to trade in the village, so he has become accustomed to drive by the cross-roads church to attend services at the larger center.⁸

With the centralization of population and services in the towns and villages, the open country church in many communities has ceased to exist. Where it does exist, it has lost about the last vestige of its integrating power.

Town and City Concentration. Just as the open country church responded to certain factors and forces and gave way to the concentration in the small town, so the small town church in time gave way to these same factors in favor of the concentration in the large town and city. One of the most significant of these factors has been the changing ecological distance due to the coming of more rapid means of transportation and communication.

Ecological distance is a measure of fluidity. It is a time cost concept rather than a unit of space. It is measured by minutes and cents rather than by yards and miles . . . This basis of distance determines the currents of travel and traffic, which, in turn, determine the areas of concentration . . . Likewise, communal structure is a response to distance in the local movements of commodities and people . . .⁹

⁸ Bruner, Hughes, and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages*, p. 180.

⁹ R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," in *The Urban Community* by E. W. Burgess, p. 178.

Changes in ecological distance are determining factors in bringing about changes in the communal pattern; these changes, in turn, affect the position of the various institutions in the pattern. An institution that is dominant at any given time may lose its position if the prevailing methods of transportation and communication change. The church in the town catered to the social and political interests of the community. It was about the only institution that provided for the social needs of the community. The various services, both on Sunday and through the week, offered opportunity for social intercourse. The religious services furnished a unifying element which touched, in some way or another, practically every resident. Very few families were to be found that were not in some way affected by the community church, even though it was only on the occasion of the death of some friend or highly esteemed member of the community. It was not difficult for this institution to hold a relatively important position in the integration of the community life, since distances under the prevailing means of transportation and communication were too great for any individual to seek the satisfaction of his wishes outside the community.

Soon after the turn of the century a process of disintegration began to break up the old village pattern. Here and there were villages that, because of some favorable element in their location or in the composition of their constituency, developed more rapidly than others and, as a consequence, were able to supply a larger number and a better quality of services. As a result of this unequal growth and the change in distance, these larger villages began to pull upon the smaller ones and to supply their residents with services of various kinds, superior to those they were able to receive in their own communities. As a consequence, many of the smaller villages soon lost the majority of their services. Because of the convenience of

the new forms of transportation, such as the automobile and the farm truck, people were able to enjoy the services of the larger neighboring communities.

When people began to find means of supplying their economic needs outside the village, it is not surprising that they should find means of supplying their social and recreational needs there as well. Just as the city or large town department store lured them away from the old village or general store, the city or town houses of entertainment and social life, the moving-picture theaters, and the brightly lighted white ways of the city are luring them away from their former homes where they have been wont to find their social wishes supplied.

This being true, it is inevitable that the people should feel the pull to satisfy their religious life also in the larger centers. The large church in the town or city with its pipe organ, its popular minister, and its choir began to lure people from their small neighborhood church and to integrate them into a larger community pattern. Thus, the village church has lost its position of importance in its local communities to the same degree that the local community has lost its position of importance as the integrating center of the larger region. Wherever one turns at present, this process of centralization and city development is in evidence.

The Change in Dominance Due to Extrareligious Factors. This changing position of dominance is closely associated with a changing ecological pattern in the surrounding community. A shift in the position of the church is invariably associated with a change in the integration of the communal pattern, involving a change in the center about which the various services of the community are integrated. A church maintains a position of dominance in a communal pattern until the pattern is broken up as a result of a new culture invading the old. These changes

have come, not as a direct result of any changed attitude toward the church on the part of the constituents, but as a result of a new organization of the communal structure.

The position held by the church in any period has been very largely dependent upon its extrareligious activities. The old temples and cathedrals were dominant because they had as an integral part of their organization a number of social, economic, and political services. The "human units" were drawn, not alone because of what is often termed the religious or spiritual functions of the church, but because of the extraspiritual as well.

The church in America generally has invariably in its pioneer economy supplied a number of wants that might be termed social. Modern culture has changed this condition. In this change the church has lost its function as a commercial, political, and social (leisure-time) institution. The social function has been taken over by commercialized leisure-time organizations as well as by the modern public school. The commercial function has been taken over by powerful commercial organizations as an entirely new business pattern has developed. The political function has been taken over by well-organized political machines. Commercial concerns now are the dominant integrating institutions, and the church is of little consequence in determining the community spatial pattern.

In an effort to complete the cycle and regain at least a measure of the dominance it once possessed, the church is assuming a new form to be found in the skyscraper church—a great commercial building which has embedded within the structure all the necessary equipment for housing a modern church with all its varied activities. This institution promises to enable the church to compete with the commercial organizations for a place of dominance in the spatial pattern of the community. As yet, however, its development does not warrant a prediction of its success.

OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES OF TAXI-DANCERS

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● Definite and specific personality changes are the result when young women earn their bread and butter on the income from ten cents a dance. Any occupation carried on for a long enough period is bound to have its effect on the attitudes and values of the person involved.¹ In studying these occupational attitudes and values of taxi-dancers the writer used the casual interview. Inestimable help was secured from *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, by Paul G. Cressey.

The taxi-dance hall, a product of the modern big city, had its inception on the Barbary Coast during Gold Rush days in San Francisco. Its function is largely to supply the demands for feminine society of homeless and lonesome men crowded into the rooming-house districts of our large cities. This interest of the patrons is being exploited for financial gain. Of the men who attend, some are there to enjoy the usual feminine society that the big city has denied them, some enjoy dancing for its own sake, others come for pure sensual enjoyment, and a fourth group come to learn how to dance.² In Los Angeles color lines are drawn, there being halls for whites and halls for Filipinos. In Los Angeles there are no halls for Negroes.

A taxi-dancer is a woman employed at these commercial public dance halls. She is paid on a commission basis through the ticket-a-dance plan. In Los Angeles the girl is paid ten cents a dance, of which she receives five cents. Dances last from 60 to 90 seconds.

The girls employed in these halls are expected to dance with any man who

¹ E. S. Bogardus, "The Occupational Attitude," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 8:171-77.

² Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, p. 179.

may choose her and to remain on the dance floor for as long as he is willing to pay the charges. Hence the significance of the apt name "taxi-dancer." Like the taxi-driver with his cab she is for public hire and is paid in proportion to the time spent and the services rendered.³

Girls employed to dance in these commercial houses are young and fairly attractive. The reasons should be obvious. The young woman's job is to sell herself; and, as men prefer youth, the dancing maiden can remain in her occupation only a few years at the most. So the element of time is not particularly significant in forming the young woman's attitudes and values. Rather, it is the intensive nature of this life that influences mental outlook. In many instances the youthful "hopper" gets everything she needs from her dance hall existence. A good income is supplied by working; a girl's recreation is related to her job; boy friends are met in her place of business and become friends outside of office hours; feminine companionship comes from fellow workers. Thus, extensive and important factors are focalized on the molding of the occupational attitudes and values.

Girls become taxi-dancers for about the same reasons that other youths take other jobs—because they need the money. They remain, liking the stimulating life and the secure income ranging from \$25 to \$45 a week. Compare that with the returns of the average young wage earner.

Most dancers come from broken homes. Either the parents no longer contribute to their daughter's upkeep or her marriage has gone awry. Usually it is the latter case, the young widow perhaps having a child to support. Taxi-dancing is a sure way for any normally attractive young woman to make an assured income for a time.

The strongest occupational attitude of the taxi-miss is that of exploitation-mindedness.⁴ Since the business is to sell tickets, the girl adapts her personality toward this end.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

She tries to charm each partner into dancing with her as long as possible. She starts to talk just as the dance is ending. She takes her male's arm to distract and beguile him. When the girlish companion snuggles close, he may continue to pay the fare as long as he has money in his pocket. The more seasoned worker loses no opportunities to ask for paid intermissions, packages of cigarettes, soft drinks (hard drinks cannot be served at the halls in Los Angeles). "Tess," one of the girls interviewed, explained that a man could buy a companion from the hall by paying the management what she would make during the evening. Tess suggested further that it was customary also for the man to pay the girl what she might lose by being away from the hall. She wondered if the observer would "like to go out to breakfast?" This job pays greater rewards to those who exploit men. Constant application of this policy turns it into a personality trait. Cressey relates numerous cases where these young women carry the attitude of the dance hall over into private life and remain "true" to the man with the fattest pocketbook.

Judged by the prevailing mores, the woman who rents herself for ten cents a dance is anything but moral; in fact, she is promiscuous. Nice society has evolved proper ways in which unintroduced young ladies and gentlemen may meet. On the taxi-dance floor Emily Post is thrown out the window. Prospective partners may find themselves winked at, whistled for, or the recipient of an unabashful stare. Conduct on the floor would readily dismay believers in formal etiquette. Late dates are proposed to complete strangers. If the stranger has money in his pocket, anything may happen on these dates. The after-hours party is apt to begin at a cabaret whose almost bright lights glimmer in a dusty part of town. The taxi-dancer is not promiscuous in her own mind, but she has constructed a conduct that is best able to pay for her groceries. It may be admit-

ted that she is calloused to the refined conventions of a more leisured class. But her attitude of "easy come, easy go" is built by the requirements of her position. Her occupation being invariably in the worst part of town, the taxi-dancer passes on her way to the hall "flop houses, beggars and lounging men." Such a rough-and-tumble life leads to the attitude of casual-mindedness.

Because the taxi-dancers make about twice the income of "respectable" girls, the dancers are apt to shrug their shoulders at those conditions which have made them promiscuous and casual. When conventional society lifts its still eyebrows the taxi-miss is likely to comment, "So what?"

As was suggested, the girl must dance with any man who will choose her. This means that she associates with dark men and light men, Communists and Republicans, men who are romantically attractive and men who are diseased and deformed, those who sport Bond Street clothes and those who hide patches, males who gallop wildly and those who tango smoothly. "Edith" said that she liked best to dance with clean-cut young fellows. Probably most of the nickel "hoppers" prefer this type, and yet they must be on pleasant relations with all kinds of men. Such a variety of male talent in countless doses would give any young women poise to spare.

It is not strange that one who enjoys dancing should become dance-minded. The curious thing is that, like the sailor who goes rowing in Westlake Park on Sunday, the taxi-girl often goes dancing on her holiday. Said "Jane," another one of the girls interviewed, "On my off evening, I go to the — ballroom, or the — ballroom." And "Bess," "I take rumba lessons in my spare time. Isn't the orchestra corny?"

The journey down the pathway of dimes is accelerated by youth and charm. In Los Angeles dancing women use a

minimum of paint and powder and wear sleek but not immodest formal dresses; clothes are clean and may be freshly pressed; many girls have elaborate hair arrangements. Men prefer a vision of loveliness. Though more sophisticated eyes might criticize the appearance of these butterflies on hire, men from grubby rooming-houses find them soothing balm for heartfelt desires. So, born out of necessity, charm-mindedness takes its place among the occupational attitudes from the commercial dance floor.

Men who buy companionship prefer a vivacious, pleasant commodity. Therefore, the product must assume a cheer-mindedness that she often does not feel. A girl may begin the evening in a blue mood, but, being an astute business woman, she gives every indication of pep and joy. Soon she may even "kid" herself into real cheer.⁵ Along toward midnight yawns begin to creep across tired faces. Yet, when asked to dance, the yawns disappear instantly. More tickets are sold by the girl with the snappy answers than by the girl with the sleepy eyes.

"The pot of gold" is always just around the corner for paid dancing partners. Thus, they are adventure-minded. In most cases the girl has been married, separated, and is seeking another provider. Perhaps she wants love as well as gold. She may seek a permanent attachment or merely a transient lover. In any event there is always the possibility that the ideal man will come along. This gives zest to an already interesting existence. Further stimulation comes from the entertainment after hours. Perhaps there will be a rich man or one with ready money to pay well for his pleasure. Such a career offers continual new thrills and adventures.

Taxi-dancers care little for family life. As a rule, they are their own breadwinners. Having a fairly large income, the dancing miss finds herself better able to provide for

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

her needs than can the average male. This makes for independence. Such independence does not foster that "for better or worse" spirit essential to the successful marriage. Thus there is little need to retain a man. Because many of the girls come from homes where the father and mother did not get along, they have few sacred notions regarding the home. Consequently, these young women drift casually in and out of their relations with men. The added problem of pregnancy would simply cut off the young woman's earning power and limit her capacity for adventure and thus offers no attraction. Yet, in the back of the minds of most taxi-dancers lurks the disturbing thought that it takes youth to sell tickets. The taxi-dancer is aging in her young thirties. "Beatrice," another interviewee, expressed what many did not speak, "They say you age fast in this game." So singleness is blessedness as long as old maidenhood is far away.

Thus, it may be noted that the taxi-dance hall breeds certain occupational attitudes and values in its feminine dancing workers: exploitation-mindedness, promiscuousness, casual-mindedness, dance-mindedness, adventure-mindedness, charm-mindedness, cheer-mindedness, and antifamily-mindedness. These traits, which become firmly imbedded in the dancer's personality, are a natural result of the forces at work on the commercial dance floor.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND ATTITUDES OF LABOR LEADERS

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEW HAVEN AND
NEW BRITAIN, CONNECTICUT

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● This paper is the result of interviews with 44 labor leaders in both the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions in the cities of New Haven and New Britain. The number of union leaders covered is about 95 per cent of the more important ones and approximately 70 per cent of the total in the two cities. The Italians, Jews, Irish, and Poles make up about two thirds of the total leadership, the remainder being composed of 11 other different groups, including the Negroes. What chiefly accounts for the predominance of those four groups is probably the fact that they constitute the bulk of the population in the two cities. It is noteworthy, however, that those of old American stock, or Yankees, who next to the Italians and Irish form the largest ethnic group in these cities, have a proportionately very low representation among the labor union leaders.

Of the 44 labor leaders, 25 were found to be affiliated with A.F. of L. and 19 with C.I.O. unions. Close to two thirds of the leaders are American born, and all, except two, come from the working class. The bulk of the union leaders had an elementary school education, but a considerable number were either graduated from or attended high school. Only three out of a total of 44 received a college education. The majority of the leaders, since the bulk of the population adheres to that faith, are Catholics, while Protestants and Jews are about evenly divided. Very few belong to other denominations. About one third of the

leaders interviewed stated that they attended church regularly and a little more than one third that they never attended. The rest, somewhat less than one third, stated that their attendance was irregular. The Italians were evenly divided between those who attended church regularly and those who attended irregularly, only one stating that he never went to church. While none of the Jewish leaders attended the synagogues at all, all of the Irish leaders stated that they were regular church-goers. Of the five Polish leaders, two attended church regularly and three not at all. To the question as to whether in their opinion there existed any conflict between trade union beliefs and religion, all but one asserted that there was none.

A further analysis shows that there is hardly any difference in nativity between the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders, the proportion of native-born and foreign-born being about the same. Neither do marked differences exist in the economic background and education. In religion, too, the Catholics and Protestants appear to be evenly divided between the A.F. of L. and C.I.O., while the Jews have a proportionately larger representation in the former type of organization than in the latter. Finally, proportionately, as many A.F. of L. as C.I.O. leaders are "good," "bad," or "indifferent" to their religion.

What this brief analysis indicates is that some differences among the labor leaders are discernible only on the basis of ethnic groups, and those concern mainly the degree of religious observance. No essential differences seem to exist with regard to nativity, economic background, education, and religion between the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. labor union leaders. As the two cities covered are among the six largest in the state, it may be safely assumed that the leaders in the rest of the state share essentially the same characteristics.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY NOTES

As this issue goes to press, the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society is being held at Stanford University. A two-day session is scheduled for December 27-28, 1940. The first meeting is devoted to The Sociology of Housing. Svend H. Rieme presents a paper on "The Adjustment of Family Life to Its Physical Shelter," and Erle F. Young gives a report on "Housing the Masses," based on his recent tour of housing developments in various states. The second session is devoted to The Rural Community. Fred R. Yoder presents the findings of a study of "Social Processes in Frontier Communities," and Lawrence S. Bee deals with "Social Attitudes in a New York Rural Community." These topics are evidences of the trend in rural sociology to deal more effectively with the sociological and sociopsychological aspects of rural life, as is evidenced so strongly in a recent book, *Rural Life in Process*, by Paul H. Landis.

The annual dinner is held jointly with the Pacific Coast Economic Association. Martin H. Neumeyer, president of the Pacific Sociological Society, is delivering an address on "Leisure: A Field for Social Research," and Arthur Coons, president of the Pacific Coast Economic Association, is presenting "Economy, Economics, and Economies."

The fourth session is devoted to Human Ecology, with two papers, one dealing with "Land Values as an Ecological Index" by Calvin F. Schmid and the other with "The Ecological Patterning of Tacoma" by Marvin R. Schafer. The last session deals with two problems—"The Problem of Teaching Social Statistics" by Joseph Cohen and "Interracial and International Marriages in Los Angeles County" by Constantine Panunzio.

The Pacific Sociological Society was organized in 1929. During the first ten years of its existence *Sociology and Social Research* published the proceedings. Beginning with 1940, the responsibility of the publication of proceedings has been assumed by the State College of Washington. The first issue, which was the proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting held at the University of Idaho and State College of Washington in 1939, appeared as Volume VIII, Number 1, in the Research Studies series of the State College of Washington, with Carl E. Dent as editor. Well-prepared papers and lively discussions marked the meetings. The following résumé gives some of the high lights of the main papers presented.

That human intelligence occupies a restricted but significant role in human behavior was stressed by Glenn E. Hoover, the 1939 president of the Society. It is true that human intelligence and scientific knowledge

have failed in many instances to achieve the highest expectancies. The actions of mobs illustrate this point. Agreement on objectives is a sign of progress, which is even more important than an increase of intellectual powers. As the functions of government expand, it is important that governments act in accordance with the best available intelligence.

That social theory is an important phase of sociology is evidenced by the fact that the major portion of a session was devoted to a consideration of Durkheim's contribution to the problem of the social order and the democratic ideology of Ward and Cooley. Social theory must be considered in its historical and ideological perspective if it is to be of great value. The social heritage of American sociology has been predominantly that of democratic idealism. There are few Americans today who do not at least give lip service to democracy. But what is the theoretical background of our democracy, and what are its major tenets? The present war not only has brought the issue of democracy versus totalitarian forms of government to the fore but is providing a fertile field for the analysis of war itself. The sociology of war, which has not as yet been fully defined, deals with such items as the social processes that disrupt the normal life of society, the implications of motives and acts of people under the stress of war, the speed and destructiveness of modern warfare, and the role of propaganda.

That sociological research can furnish the basis for the understanding of social problems and social welfare is generally assumed among sociologists. Pacific Coast sociologists, as the various studies indicate, are vitally concerned with the analysis of the basic conditions of migratory farm labor in the Western states, the Japanese and their political behavior, Mennonite communities, Jewish communities in urban economy, and trends in politics. The study of the social processes among welfare agencies throws light upon the functionings of the ever-increasing number of public agencies as well as the struggle for status and maintenance of private agencies.

The press and the radio have immeasurably extended mass communication. They constitute the two most outstanding institutions today to disseminate information concerning world affairs. The analysis of the nature of news and the radio as a social institution are important but more or less unexplored fields of social research.

Professionally, sociologists are interested in the teaching of their science. Hence, a session devoted to a consideration of the place of sociology in the curriculum, the teacher preparation, classroom treatment, and the place of the sociologist as a leader in the modern community usually produces a lively discussion.

PACIFIC COAST NEWS NOTES

University of Washington, Seattle.

This fall the Department of Sociology, along with the departments of History, Political Science, and Geography, moved into their new quarters in the recently completed Social Sciences Building. Although the present plant of the Department of Sociology is not as yet fully staffed and equipped, provisions have been made in the building plans for the possible future development of a Research Institute. Almost all of the first floor of the new building is devoted to the research facilities and offices of the Department of Sociology. These facilities include: (1) a demonstration room for classes in statistics and methods of social research; (2) an exhibit hall for the display of maps, graphs, pictures, and models; (3) a drafting room for drawing, coloring, and finishing maps, charts, and pictures; (4) an atelier for sketching, computing, and working out details of more advanced research studies; (5) a laboratory for classes in social statistics; and (6) a filing room and shop for punching, sorting, and tabulating data.

When the Research Institute is fully developed, it will serve a four-fold purpose: first, it will be an impartial fact-finding and fact-interpreting agency. The Institute will sponsor and conduct research of social conditions in the Northwest Region. Second, it will serve as the largest depository of social data in the Northwest Region. Third, through its facilities and staff it will serve as a training center in scientific social research for graduate students, administrators, and professional social scientists. Fourth, the Institute will perform an important educational function by publishing reports, bulletins, and monographs embodying the results of significant investigations, and also by organizing exhibits, lectures, and discussions explaining the bearing of the work upon local and regional problems.

University of Oregon, Eugene.

Dr. Philip A. Parsons, head of the Department of Sociology, has returned to his academic duties after his illness and leave of absence of last year. Dr. Lawrence S. Bee has made a study of "Attitude Differentials in a New York Rural Community." He is presenting a paper on this subject at the annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society, and expects to publish the complete report in a bulletin. Dr. Elon H. Moore is carrying on studies of population movements in the state of Oregon, with special emphasis on the analysis of the 1940 Census reports. Dr. Samuel H. Jameson is president of the Oregon Conference on Family Relations.

Willamette University, Salem, Oregon.

Courses in social work are given as a part of the sociology offerings. Introduction to Social Work, Psychiatry for Social Workers, and Organization and Administration of Social Agencies are taught by specialists in these fields. An Anthropology Society has been formed on the campus. Its special interest is a study of the Calapuyan Indian Mounds of the Willamette Valley.

University of Idaho, Moscow.

Dr. John M. Foskett is participating in a rural farm youth study sponsored by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. He organized the survey and directed the field work during the summer and is now tabulating the results. This is the first rural sociology study in the state of Idaho.

University of California, Berkeley.

Dr. Hurford E. Stone has been transferred from the University of California at Los Angeles to the Berkeley campus to become the Dean of Undergraduates. He teaches one course in the field of social economics, but his chief responsibilities are the supervision of men's welfare and activities and the co-ordinating of all student activities.

University of California at Los Angeles.

Sociology and Anthropology has been organized as a separate department with Dr. Beals of anthropology as the head of the new department. Dr. George Day of Occidental College is a part-time visiting professor in sociology. Dr. Constantine Panunzio has been named one of six hundred immigrant Americans who have made outstanding contributions to American culture. This honor was conferred at the New York World's Fair after an extensive investigation by a special research staff. Professors Pitirim Sorokin of Harvard and E. A. Steiner of Grinnell College were the other sociologists honored.

Occidental College, Los Angeles.

In addition to the courses offered at Occidental College and the University of California at Los Angeles, Dr. George M. Day is preparing a report on "The Social Significance of Play and Art" for a forthcoming book on *Educational Sociology* edited by Dr. Joseph S. Roucek.

Whittier College, California.

The two sociologists on the staff have been given added administrative responsibilities. Dr. Charles Spaulding is Registrar of the College, and Dr. David Henley is chairman of the Social Science Division and also of the Freshman courses. In sociology an effort is made to connect the courses with the life situations of the students.

University of Redlands, California.

A study of street traffic in San Bernardino was made last year by Ray W. Dutcher, assistant in the Department of Sociology. Mr. Dutcher is now teaching in the Barstow High School. "Catching Up With Speed," a test for use in Safety Education, has been devised by Dr. Glen E. Carlson and Mr. Dutcher.

Fresno State College, California.

The sociology instructors have taken an active part in housing. Professor Emory Ratcliffe headed a housing survey during the summer of 1940 which resulted in a grant from the USHA of \$738,000. Associate Professor Kenneth Potter was appointed by the Mayor of Fresno as a member of the Fresno Housing Authority. Professor Hubert Phillips is president of the Fresno Housing Council, a voluntary group of citizens organized to get favorable action for the above-mentioned project.

University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

The sociology students have organized and together with the faculty have requested the establishment of an Alpha chapter in Alpha Kappa Delta, national honorary sociology fraternity. Classes in Community Organization and Rural Sociology have studied a Rural Resettlement Project at Bosque Farms, near Albuquerque, and the class in Criminology has made visits to the State Penitentiary at Santa Fe.

University of Arizona, Tucson.

Dr. E. D. Tetreau, Professor of Rural Sociology, has published three articles recently: "Social Organization in Arizona's Irrigated Areas" in *Rural Sociology*, June, 1940; "Social Aspects of Arizona's Farm Labor Problems" in *Sociology and Social Research*, July-August, 1940; and "Location of Heirs and of Property Rights in Farm and City Estates" in the *Journal of Land and Public Utilities Economics*, November, 1940. A forthcoming bulletin on "Arizona's Agricultural Population" is to be published by the College of Agriculture.

Mills College, California.

Dr. George Hedley has been appointed Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics and Sociology, replacing Elizabeth Owen who has retired. Dr. Hedley has taught in the College of Puget Sound, Pacific School of Religion, and the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and since 1936 has been Director of the Pacific Coast Labor School.

Pomona College, Claremont, California.

Dr. William Kirk has returned from a semester's leave of absence to continue his studies in the Far East. The study of the native culture of Formosa was his special interest this year.

Montana State University, Missoula.

The Department of Economics and Sociology established a Social Work Laboratory in 1938, which has been expanded to include economics as well as sociology students and has increased its functions. It serves as a field practice agency, using case work, group work, social research, interpretation, and community organization processes. It is student managed under faculty and community agency supervisory guidance, and exists primarily as a student training and development agency organized into eight operating and one service division. During the summer it established an Internship Unit Plan in three welfare institutions of Montana. Five June graduates were placed as internes, four of whom have since been given permanent employment. Such an internship provides a buffer between graduation and a job. The Social Work Laboratory has also placed seven other graduates with the Division of Youth Personnel of the Montana NYA. They are located in different cities and serve as directors. An In-Service Training program is now being developed.

Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

Dr. Margaret Irene Conway from Minneapolis has been appointed instructor of sociology, replacing Dr. Paul C. Glick, who has been on the professional staff of the Population Division, Bureau of Census, Washington, D.C., since August, 1939. Dr. Glick is Statistician for Family Characteristics, in charge of the planning of tables and statistical materials on the family obtained from the 1940 census of population.

SOCIAL WELFARE

LEISURE FOR LIVING. By SIDNEY GREENBIE. New York: George W. Stewart, 1940, xvii+288.

Several years ago Marjorie B. Greenbie, the wife of the present author, wrote a stimulating book on *The Arts of Leisure*, which she claims was originally her husband's brain child. Now Mr. Greenbie endeavors to reinterpret the social habits of people and to outline certain goals of living. How to get more time to live in and how to use it when one gets it are important problems of successful living. Time is all the riches that most of us have. The author believes that time can pay big dividends in profit and pleasure, and he tries to show us how to use leisure for relaxation, for learning, for enrichment, and for reflection. Fun is important, and there are many ways of getting it. But leisure activities can also lead to learning and to personality enrichment. The presentation of the material is mainly a philosophy woven out of the fabric of modern life, but a group of characters are used as "stand-ins" for actual people. These are really existing men, and they speak, as it were, to the reader. M.H.N.

COLLEGE PLANS FOR RETIREMENT INCOME. By RAINARD B. ROBBINS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 253.

This timely volume by Mr. Robbins should be welcomed by college and university administrators who face problems of establishing or adjusting retirement income provisions for faculty members and employees. The federal Social Security Act does not at present include employees of educational institutions, but there is a strong possibility that this provision may be changed in the near future. In either case, however, colleges and universities will find themselves under pressure to inaugurate pension systems if they have not already done so, and to extend existing pension systems to include provision for nonacademic employees. This latter provision seems to be infrequent at the present time.

Mr. Robbins lists briefly the developments in retirement plans since the year 1934, when the monograph review of such plans was printed by The Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. He analyzes in Part I the most commonly used types of retirement plans, including The Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association plan, contributory plans using contracts of other life insurance companies, contributory plans which accumulate their own funds, plans included in broader retirement systems for public employees and religious workers, noncontributory plans, and Carnegie pensions only.

Part II is devoted to a description of the evolution of college plans for retirement income with analysis of some of the weaknesses commonly observed. The author points out that the fundamental purpose of the retirement plan is "to enable the governing body of a college to part in a socially acceptable manner with individual staff members when they reach the point at which the welfare of the college will be served better by their absence than by their presence." A satisfactory retirement plan seems essential to the maintenance of high professional standards, since colleges without retirement provisions tend to continue employment of staff members long after both the quality and quantity of their service have been markedly diminished. In other words, it is equally advantageous to institution and faculty member alike to have an established and fixed retirement policy and provision.

It is recognized that it is highly controversial as to just when an individual's services become more of a liability than an asset to the institution. Common practice, however, is to fix a permissible retirement age at 65 with possible adjustments available up to a maximum of 70. In most institutions the retirement benefit is supposed to equal half of the final salary or half of the average salary for the last five or ten years of service preceding retirement. It is noted, however, that the prevalent policy of providing premium contributions of five per cent each from institution and faculty member will no longer provide half salary as it did twenty years ago, because of substantial decreases in investment incomes and of increased longevity of annuitants. This calls for modifications in policy in the direction of either reduced benefits or increased premiums.

He also urges that collegiate administrators co-operate with the federal government in attempting to secure application of the Social Security Act to their institutions on the basis that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by such participation. They will still have the problem of supplementing such provision with further retirement income in order to give adequate provision for old age of faculty members.

WM. R. LAPORTE

LABOR PROBLEMS. By GORDON S. WATKINS and PAUL A. DODD. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1940 (Third Edition), pp. xiii+1128.

This third edition of *Labor Problems* by Professors Watkins and Dodd is an excellent contribution to the better understanding of industrial unrest, its causes, development, and present status. Beginning wisely with the historical background, the authors have undertaken most successfully to delineate the various factors playing about in the creating of labor problems and to reveal the problems and their significance. The solutions

for these problems as viewed by workers, employers, and the community are ably discussed. While nothing radically new is offered in the volume, its manner of presentation, orderly and logical, the lucidity of its subject matter, and the fine selectivity of the materials offered mark the work as excellent. The concluding chapter, dealing with the future and the choice of alternatives, reveals that the authors believe in the capabilities of the present democratic system to liberalize itself enough to improve the capitalistic structure. Optimism on their part is caused by "a review of the progress of the working class under capitalism, a consideration of the possibility of reinterpreting the theory of democratic liberalism in order to bring it more realistically into harmony with the facts and problems of economic life, and a revaluation of the democratic way of life." The sane conclusions on this score need to be read by many who are incapable of noting for themselves that the present social order is not the past but a development of it, that changes will inevitably occur, and that "determination and the will to progress" can save and make democracy liberal.

M.J.V.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. Vol. I. American Principles and Policies. By EDITH ABBOTT. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940, pp. xviii+894.

In this, the first of two volumes to be completed, Miss Abbott analyzes the basic principles and policies of the present-day system of public assistance. Within a decade "pauper relief," administered by innumerable local units of government, has become the responsibility, in part, at least, of federal and state, as well as local governments. The background of this changing system and the form that the emerging program of public assistance is taking are impressively presented.

The book is divided into five parts: namely, The Principles of Public Responsibility, The Old Poor Law in the Twentieth Century, Local Responsibility and Medical Care, State Grants-in-aid for Public Assistance, and Federal Aid and Emergency Relief. The author has an introduction of thirty-five to fifty pages for each part, in which she sets out the problem and forcefully interprets the documents which follow. History seems to unfold as one reads the judicial opinions that reflect a changing concept of public responsibility or the well-selected statutes which portray the poor laws of various states in all stages of transition into modern public assistance laws. The confused status of settlement and of family responsibility becomes clearer in the light of their origin and of current discussion. The controversies over the policy of federal aid for social welfare purposes which are illustrated in the documents make the reader realize what a distance has been traveled since 1932.

The book is intended primarily for students in schools of social work and will provide them with an invaluable foundation for the understanding of problems that seem contradictory and confused when met in the field of practice. Until social workers know the background of the poor law and comprehend the significance of the "social revolution" of the past few years, progress will be slow in building a coherent program of public assistance. So much of the material which illustrates the trend is contained in obscure reports and statute books and court decisions of the forty-eight states that their collection in one volume is a boon to the student. When combined with Miss Abbott's cogent and provocative analysis and comment, the material takes life and meaning that should inspire the most indifferent student. Without doubt, Miss Abbott is the leading scholar in this field in America; and in her searching, fearless inquiry, often ahead of her time in the reforms she advocates, she is to be compared to the Webbs, who have rendered a similar service for public welfare in England.

ARLIEN JOHNSON

MODERN HUMAN RELATIONS. By NORMAN M. KASTLER. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1940, pp. xvi+461.

This book is written for young students, Americans, who "are thinking far more than we elders realize." It aims to be "attractive for the student" and "easy to read." Both of these goals are achieved. Moreover, the publisher has contributed especially to the first of the two aims. However, at some points the subheads break up the context into unduly short sections, often into sections of only one or two paragraphs. A unique feature is represented by the drawings that have been made by Edward L. Kastler, a brother of the author. These are clever and original and attract one's attention, but some readers will consider a few as a little farfetched or possibly fantastic. Others are particularly effective and timely.

The major fields that are presented are as follows: modern distribution, modern industrial society, modern rural society, population, the family, agencies of social control, social planning, and statistics. The last chapter, which deals with "measuring facts and making them clear," is designed to encourage the student to continue his social studies in a scientific way. Although no reference is made to case studies and case analysis, the chapter is a specially commendable feature. Likewise, the materials on social planning are decidedly apropos. Social planning is explained as arising "out of the necessity of reducing the friction and losses apparent in modern human relations," that is, in order to prevent the world from building a modern Tower of Babel. Special skill is used in defining the causes of war and in clarifying the nature of and need for democracy.

E.S.B.

THE BEGGAR. By HARLAN W. GILMORE. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940, pp. xii+252.

The beggar has seldom been carefully studied, and few social phenomena are less understood than that of begging. For centuries beggars have roamed the highways and streets. Even today we have our street beggars, peddling mendicants, tramps, hobos, residence and store beggars, and many others. The beggar sometimes casts an almost magical spell over other people. The art of begging is an ancient one. Even though new techniques have been invented to secure a parasitic livelihood, the modern beggarman owes much to the begging tradition. To most people a beggar is a source of annoyance. Dr. Gilmore's study is a fascinating exploration into the various phases of the beggar's life. He begins with the mendicant heritage and art and then proceeds to analyze the types of beggars, the beggars of the open road and urban beggardom, with a special chapter devoted to child beggars. Where the beggars live, the natural history of failure, those who are born into a mendicant life, the incomes of beggars, and the problem of the control of begging receive special consideration. The book is replete with cases and illustrations. M.H.N.

AMERICAN DOCTORS OF DESTINY. By FRANK J. JIRKA. Chicago: Normandy House, 1940, pp. xv+361.

This book presents interesting high lights in the history of American medicine. If it had been limited to the field in which its author labors, the new material added to formal history might be enthusiastically accepted. Unfortunately, the writer's attacks on social work reveal such an ignorance of the principles and ideals on which this new profession rests that the reader will naturally raise questions pertaining to the validity of other material in the book. The reader will find descriptions of the work of more than twenty physicians who have made significant achievements in medical science. The epochal major operation performed in 1809 on Mr. Crawford by Dr. Ephraim McDowell, anesthetics being unknown at that time, is the theme of a dramatic story. Holmes, Morton, William Mayo, and others are shown as progressive physicians, unafraid to move forward and to utilize the latest discoveries. Two chapters are devoted to the conquest of yellow fever and one to tuberculosis, or the "White Plague." On the other hand, Trudeau is not mentioned, nor is Beaumont, and the accounts of Joseph Warren and Major-General Wood deal largely with nonmedical matter. In fact, much of the material in the book relates to achievements of doctors outside their profession. The book is illustrated with twenty-one portraits of "Doctors of Destiny."

G.B.M.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY IN IRELAND. By CONRAD M. ARENSBERG and SOLON T. KIMBALL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. 322.

A reader turning to the title page of this book may wonder why a man from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and another from the United States Soil Conservation Service should be writing on a sociological subject. I advise that he waste no time wondering, but settle down to enjoy the book, for it is a thoroughly scientific sociological treatise and very readable. The authors are social anthropologists, and they have presented a straightforward analysis of family and community life based on nearly two years of field work in an Irish community. It is encouraging to find such an ethnological contribution on *modern* man; we need many more such in spite of the lure of the South Sea Islanders.

The small farmer class of Ireland is portrayed simply and faithfully. It is a picture of a simple folk and a simple culture, but one of character and dignity. The everyday life of these people, their household arrangements, their endless toil to make a mediocre living, their family and kinship patterns, their marriage customs and sex mores, and the determinants of status are told so directly and with so little flourish of academic phraseology that one is scarcely aware that he is getting a penetrating understanding of these people within a few pages. Even the description of the homely tasks through the day of the various members of the family, which might easily fall into a dull cataloguing, is done instead with such unassuming skill and simplicity that in spots it is almost poetic. The book is a first-class contribution to the fields of sociology and anthropology, and its style should make it acceptable not only to specialists but also to laymen who are looking for clear-cut descriptions of peoples and cultures other than their own.

RAY E. BABER
POMONA COLLEGE

THE REAL CAUSES OF OUR MIGRANT PROBLEM. By SUE SANDERS. Los Angeles: Sue Sanders, 1940, pp. 71.

The author speaks as one who knows the farms of Texas and Oklahoma through years of personal experience. She has visited those who have migrated recently to California, and she rightly proclaims their willingness to work as farmers if they could only have the opportunity. She is correct in describing their yen for land. Her solution for their deplorable situation has special merit, for she urges that the government make them loans in buying land and in setting themselves up as farmers again in the states whence they came to California. She feels deeply that government relief has pauperized them and undermined their self-respect.

On the other hand, the author visited one of the splendid government-owned camps, but does not give the government credit for the ways in which human welfare has been safeguarded. She does not describe the deplorable situations in the private camps, the helplessness of the farmers in trying to help themselves, and the reasons why some of them have sunk into a sordid outlook on life. She vigorously protests against that literature which give the impressions that the "Okies" are "a slovenly, hopeless, dirty-thinking, vile-talking class of people." The author has underestimated the role of the tractor and other technological inventions in driving these people off their farms. She makes a great deal of the point that crop limitation and compensation by the government are to blame for all this transiency, but fails to see how numbers of farmers of the dust bowl states were finding rural life almost impossible before the government started upon its program of limitation of crops and of subsidies. The author's contention, that the determination to work will enable all these transient farmers to succeed because she has succeeded that way, fails to convince. It does not take into consideration all the factors that our present economic dilemmas involve. It suggests the need for a comprehensive, well-balanced, impartial treatise on all the underlying and deep-seated factors in the situation of the transient farmer in the United States today.

E.S.B.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC RECREATION. By GEORGE HJELTE.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, pp. xxiii+416.

Public recreation in America, particularly as it has developed in cities, has advanced sufficiently to take stock of administrative procedure. Mr. Hjelte has had considerable experience in the administration of public recreation and is one of the ablest administrators in this field. This book is more than a presentation of administrative problems and tested experience. It relates these to the larger aspects of recreation. The first part is devoted to the organization and relationships of recreation, including a brief history of public recreation, the various forms of municipal recreation, public schools as recreation centers, the co-ordination of local recreation agencies, and the planning for recreation. The second part deals with the more formal and technical problems pertaining to the administration of a recreation department, which is followed by a consideration of the problems of personnel and research. Administrative research is now recognized as an essential requisite to further growth. The volume is of value not only to the administrators of recreation but to all who have an interest in recreation as a governmental function.

M.H.N.

MY STORY. By PADDY THE COPE. London: Jonathan Cape, 1939, pp. 288.

To American readers this personal and interesting story will give an idea concerning the nature of the co-operative movement in a given section of Ireland. The semibiographical account starts off rather slowly. It deals with boyhood life and furnishes a background of personal and social problems. Then a co-operative society is organized, but against what odds, chief of which is "gombeenism," whereby the traders keep the villagers forever in a state of debt-slavery.

Two steps ahead and one backward summarize the struggle of the village people to become free from their own small-town merchants. It is the old struggle of poor people striving for freedom from an enslaving economic system. It is almost a blind struggle, except as a few persons like Paddy the Cope (co-operator) courageously and experimentally and persistently lead the way.

E.S.B.

MATRIMONIAL SHOALS. By ROYAL D. ROOD. Detroit: Detroit Law Book Company, 1939, pp. xii+423.

The author, a lawyer, says, "This work is essentially a study of metropolitan divorce trends noting results; and to explain the cause of the phenomenal increases in the past thirty years." The statistics and other illustrative materials are taken largely from the records of Wayne County, Michigan, in which the city of Detroit is located. One chapter sketches the legislative changes concerning marriage that have taken place in Michigan over a period of a hundred years. Figures are also presented giving the number of marriages and of divorces in the state since 1897. A study of the cases seems to indicate that there are many causes of divorce, but the fact that a "Friend of the Court" system was established in Michigan looms large in the author's mind and appears to him to be responsible for the rapid increase in the divorce rates of the state.

One chapter is entitled "The Social Worker and the Court." The writer of this book fails to understand the principles and practices on which modern social work is based. Many of his remarks concerning social workers are gratuitous if not grotesque. For example, "all social workers are either public police or private police." "No social good has ever been served by all the stirring of the social workers." His attitude reflects the old-time philosophy in respect to the handling of court cases. The second half of the book recites the "record in the Lupu Case," which no doubt reveals serious impositions upon right and justice. The remedy, however, need not be that suggested by the author, but rather that of making the use of socialized procedure more effective.

G.B.M.

SOCIAL THEORY

AN INTRODUCTION TO PUBLIC OPINION. By HARWOOD L. CHILDS.
New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1940, pp. 151.

Professor Childs has undertaken in this book, which is the outgrowth of a series of lectures on public relations, to present a theory of public opinion, and to clarify the meaning of the terms usually associated with it, namely, public relations, public interest, and propaganda. A very fine critical review of the literature on public opinion is one of the accomplishments of the book. The author holds that public relations problems are public opinion problems. Public relations is defined as "those aspects of our personal and corporate behavior which have a social rather than a purely private and personal significance," while public opinion is defined merely as "any collection of individual opinions, regardless of the degree of agreement or uniformity." Interesting comments are made upon the nature and purpose of public opinion polls, one of which is that they are financed as commercial enterprises and to some extent must therefore cater to the private interests which buy the surveys. The concluding chapter on public opinion and social control is particularly valuable, emphasizing the fact that public opinion, after all, is "what we collectively make it," and that it is within the power of a people to improve its quality.

M.J.V.

THE CORPORATE STATE IN ACTION. Italy Under Fascism. By CARL T. SCHMIDT. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 173.

After setting forth the conditions of Italy before Fascism, the factors in the Fascist revolution are examined and evaluated. Due credit is given to various reforms and reconstructive policies of the Fascist regime, but it is shown that all too often the Fascists have claimed credit for achievements of the previous administration. It is pointed out that the workers of field and factory have quite consistently been exploited in behalf of the industrial and landed interests, although the security of the latter has also been jeopardized by the progressive concentration of control over wealth due to the economic degradation of Italy under Fascism. Italy as a whole is shown to be suffering from the burden of dictatorship and its war machine; the vested interests and propertied classes, however, escaped their share of the cost until finally the warlike appetites had to feed also on them. All in all, the views of the author regarding the Fascist revolution and the rise of the corporative state are negative, and the book serves as an excellent antidote for the excessively favorable propaganda which has been circulated by the Fascist party.

J.E.N.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF SOCIOLOGY. By FERDINAND TONNIES.

Translated and supplemented by Charles P. Loomis. New York: American Book Company, 1940, pp. xxxiv+293.

It is a valuable piece of work that has been accomplished by the translator and publisher of this book. Tonnies has long been recognized as an able sociological thinker, for his greatest work was published near the beginning of his long and fruitful career. He crystallized ideas that Sorokin in a foreword points out had been advanced by many thinkers from Confucius and Aristotle to Durkheim. At last, the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are made available in English not only in Tonnies' earlier analyses but in the light of his last thinking concerning these concepts. The translator has wisely introduced an article, at the beginning of his book, that was written in 1931 by Tonnies, five years prior to his death. The translator has satisfactorily met the difficulty of finding adequate English for complicated sentence and thought constructions in German.

Tonnies' concepts of *Wesenwille* or natural will and of *Kurwille* or rational will and how they emerge in associations that may be called community or *Gemeinschaft* and in associations of a more formal type or *Gesellschaft*, respectively, are discussed at length and from many angles. While the demerits of a single interpretive system are well known, yet Tonnies deserves a new hearing. While a wider explanation of social life is now in fashion, yet important contributions to a science of society may be yielded by a fresh and open-minded review of the Tonnies system of social thought.

E.S.B.

ELEMENTS DE SOCIOLOGIE JURIDIQUE. By GEORGES GURVITCH. Paris:

Aubier, Editions Montaigne, 1940, pp. 267.

The author's initial purpose in presenting his analysis of the elements of juridical sociology is to review in detail the philosophical origin and developments leading to the emergence of this new field as a branch of sociology. Following an introductory exposition of the object and problems of his subject, an introduction in which he proceeds to delimit his field and to allocate it to its proper situs in the pattern of sociology in general, Professor Gurvitch critically traces the growth of the concept, beginning with the philosophical doctrines of such forerunners as Aristotle, Hobbes, Spinoza, Montesquieu, Grotius, Leibnitz, Proudhon, Gierke, and their several disciples. Of those to whom he gives credit for the actual establishment of juridical sociology as a separate science, Durkheim is accorded chief honors. It was in the latter's perception of the

special problems and parallels of relationship between forms of society and kinds of law that juridical sociology gained its main foundation stone. The author reviews the enlargement of this foundation as it developed through the writings of Durkheim, the subsequent studies of Duguit, Lévy, and Hauriou, and the works of Weber, Ehrlich, and later writers. With the conscientiousness of the true scholar, Professor Gurvitch does not hesitate to indicate the weaknesses and misconceptions as well as the constructive contributions of his predecessors.

Having devoted the first half of his volume to an intensive review of what has already been accomplished by others in laying the basis and fixing the boundaries of juridical sociology, the author then proceeds to delineate the structure as he sees it. He presents in precise fashion his analytical survey of forms of social or group relationships and the kinds of law that correspond to these respective forms. In orderly and logical sequence, he groups, regroupes, and subdivides. Throughout his entire rationale he manifests a patient thoroughness and a desire to integrate all details into a well-knit whole. Objectively viewed, his reasoning and his conclusions are consistent. If the reader quarrels at times with the latter, it is normally traceable to basic disagreement with the premises from which the reasoning begins.

In his concluding chapter on juridical sociology and the philosophy of law, the author depicts the separate roles that he envisions for these two concepts. Their respective tasks lie in divergent directions. As to the tasks of the former, he himself has well outlined the basis of further study and research. In so doing, he has opened up new vistas both for the sociologist and for the legal scholar. The reader cannot help but wonder, in view of current international events, whether Professor Gurvitch and his colleagues of the University of Strasbourg will find it possible to elaborate further the thesis which he has so ably launched in this book.

SHELDEN D. ELLIOTT

RURAL LIFE IN PROCESS. By PAUL H. LANDIS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1940, pp. xxix+599.

The distinctive aspect of this new book in the field of rural sociology is the emphasis on the effect of contemporary social forces on personality, social institutions, and related aspects of rural society, interpreted in terms of attitudes and interactions developed under the pattern of rural culture. It combines the approaches of cultural anthropology and social psychology in the study of rural living. In Part I the basic structural patterns of the organization of rural life in the United States are described as the basis for the more penetrating analysis of social experience

and personality formation, treated in Part II. In Part III the author launches more directly into the major interest of the volume—the analysis of the interacting processes of a dynamic rural society. This is followed in Part IV by a description of the basic social institutions as they are affected by the changing culture, and the effectiveness of these institutions in meeting the needs of the individual in this kind of society. Part V is a survey of problems as they appear in the light of the processes operative in the new rural environment.

With the possible exception of T. Lynn Smith, no previous rural sociologist has stressed so strongly the sociological analysis of rural life. Rural sociology is considered as an integral part of general sociology, involving the same approaches and methods of analysis. Rural society is an integral part of a dynamic social world and cannot be understood apart from it, though it has distinctive elements. Problems of adjustment that arise from the speeding up of interacting processes, the clashes of cultural patterns that are brought about chiefly by the forces of urbanization, and the changes that are occurring in all phases of life are vividly portrayed and emphasized.

"The trend of rural life is inextricably tied in with the trend of American culture. Although rural life is unique, rural culture and rural conditioning processes distinctive, the rural community functions in the larger world and can never be divorced from its interactive processes."

M.H.N.

INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY. By ROBERT L. SUTHERLAND and JULIAN L. WOODWARD. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1940, pp. xii+863.

In the Preface to the Second Edition (the first was published in 1937) the authors state that they have introduced important new findings without altering the conceptual framework and organization of their book. But might not "important new findings" call for at least some changes in concepts and organization? Many sections have been rewritten, such as those on personality, forms of collective behavior, and community. New chapters appear in connection with the discussion of social interaction, social organization, and social changes. The major thread of presentation runs a gamut, admittedly sound, as follows: culture, collective behavior, social organization, social interaction and processes, social change and control. Social disorganization is treated briefly in one chapter only. Sixteen half-tone illustrations are added in order to help the student form "a tie between the conceptual equipment of the sociologist and the concrete social world." The new book represents a distinct improvement over a well-written first edition.

E.S.B.

THE SPRINGS OF CREATIVE LIVING. By **ROLLO MAY.** New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1940, pp. 271.

If the author does not entirely succeed in bringing psychotherapy and religion together, it is because of the wide differences in starting points and in aims of these two fields of thought. The author has selected certain of the ideas of Fritz Kunkel, Karl Menninger, Otto Rank, Alfred Adler, C. G. Jung, and S. Freud and has woven them into an interpretation of personality problems. He places egocentricity as the basic explanation of much that causes mental ill health. The way out for a person is to be responsive to life outside himself. Evil is in good, and "when we do not admit the element of evil in our ideals, we make them absolute and hence demonic." Healthy religion enables one to assume responsibility creatively. Healthy religion appeals "to our strength rather than our weakness." Creative religion frees one from his egocentricity, a condition which imprisons one and shuts a person off from his fellow men and the real world about him. Although the author's exposition of psychotherapy offers a number of stimulating ideas, he would not have them accepted uncritically.

E.S.B.

PREFACE TO EUGENICS. By **FREDERIC OSBORN.** New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940, pp. xi+312.

On the one hand, social disorganization and unrest and economic and political disturbances; on the other hand, technological advancements and scientific achievements making for new physical and mental freedom. Such is the paradox confronting the world today. Professor Osborn skillfully charts the social changes which in 1940 have made this world a new one. The most favorable regions have all been occupied, the productive areas have been so intensively cultivated as to preclude famine occurrences, the life span of the peoples has been set at over 60, science has demonstrated a hitherto unparalleled mastery over the physical environment, and human beings have learned how to limit their own reproductive powers on a drastic scale. Such changes forecast and even threaten the cultures of existing groups. These are the changes which have been producing present-day conditions, and in reality constitute "a preface to eugenics." Indeed, before social organization can proceed, the problems, induced by these changes, must be solved, and they must be solved by men of character and intelligence.

With true Galtonian flavor does the author attack his major thesis, namely, that the practical use of eugenics is "fundamental to the achievements of man's hope for a better world." In order to insure genetical

fitness, a safe environment is needed. Rightly, the argument is made that encouragement of the fittest to reproduce is not enough. If better children are to come, they must be inducted into a world which deserves them. Six fundamentals for a functioning eugenic public opinion are proposed. These are: (1) the spread of voluntary birth control, with equal availability of birth control; (2) equal opportunities for development open to all children; (3) needs of the children to be met by the community; (4) the right of children to be born to parents who will care for them properly; (5) the right of children to be born free of the more serious hereditary defects; and (6) the enforcement of all these by society.

This is a book which deserves the attention of everyone. No social planning for the future will deserve the name unless it takes into consideration a reorientation of social policies which are based upon and rooted in the ideals of a sound and rational program of eugenics.

M.J.V.

THE CLASH OF POLITICAL IDEALS. A Source Book on Democracy, Communism, and the Totalitarian State. Selected and annotated by ALBERT R. CHANDLER. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940, pp. xvii + 272.

For those who would know the ideals of democracy, communism, Fascism, Nazism, and the Japanese nation, Professor Chandler has selected with considerable care the expositions of the leaders and interpreters of these conflicting doctrines. Beginning with the words of Athenian Thucydides, including among others those of Milton, Locke, Jefferson, Hoover, Dewey, Marx, Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler, and ending with Pius XI, the book undertakes to compare the ideals of the aforementioned doctrines by citations from the philosophies of selected representative leaders. The author, in a finely written prefatory note, indicates five reasons why ideas are so important a consideration in analyzing social movements: namely, (1) they may be the basic causes of the movements; (2) they may be symptomatic of the processes at work; (3) they may be symptomatic of the needs and passions of the masses and may throw light upon the ulterior purposes of the leaders; (4) they may serve to illustrate the rationalizations by which men are willing to be judged; and (5) they may be significant as both symptoms and partial causes of social movements.

The choices of the author are excellent, and all are significant for the purposive intent of the book. It might not be out of place to quote some of the materials utilized. From Jefferson on democracy there is this:

"If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, it expects what never was and never will be." From Lenin: "Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich—that is the democracy of capitalist society." And from Mussolini: "Fascism denies that the majority, by the simple fact that it is a majority, can direct human society." From Hitler: "Just as the superior race should rule over inferior races, so within the superior race power should be given to superior individuals." And from John Dewey: "Just because the cause of democratic freedom is the cause of the fullest possible realization of human potentialities, the latter when they are suppressed and oppressed will in time rebel and demand an opportunity for manifestation." This is a book that lovers of democracy will want to read, and, reading, feel honored with their choice.

M.J.V.

MAN AND SOCIETY IN AN AGE OF RECONSTRUCTION. By KARL MANNHEIM. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940, pp. xxxii + 469.

Some of the major themes are the significance of an age of reconstruction, rational and irrational elements in contemporary society, social causes of the contemporary crisis in culture, planning for freedom, and freedom at the level of planning. The discussion lies largely in the field of social planning. The author sees how "planning can easily be corrupted into dictatorship and the suppression of all freedom." In other words, a dictatorship is a form of planning, but a very inadequate type, for it interferes "with everything." Planning "can only have a positive value if it is based on the creative tendencies in society, that is, if it controls living forces without suppressing them." But, the author may be asked, might not a dictatorship encourage living forces to express themselves in daring types of adventure which would be widely destructive? Hence, is it not important that planning stimulate creative forces to express themselves in social and constructive ways?

In a democratic society, where the masses tend to dominate, "irrationalities which have not been integrated into the social structure may force their way into political life" and create a dangerous situation. At present we are in that stage of society where partial planning is going on, that is, where planning is done for parts of society. Today, "each of the dominant groups is intent on capturing for itself the chance of planning and controlling society in order to turn this power against rival groups."

A vital question for social planning experts today is: "Who plans for those who do the planning?" In other words, which of the existing groups in society shall plan our lives for us?

When democratic mass society "is allowed to function without guidance or control," cultural disintegration may occur and the way be prepared for dictatorship. Unfortunately true is it that "instead of creative ability and achievement we find constantly increasing hunger after new sensations." Dictatorship results from "the negative working of the forces of mass democracy." War does not come from a pugnacious instinct, but partly from the misuse of institutions and partly from "the desperate flight of people into collective aggression" when a feeling of general insecurity exists. What tragedy happens when "national slogans call little people who love their homes and gardens to become heroes by killing other little people who love their homes and gardens."

Planning is defined as "the reconstruction of an historically developed society into a unity which is regulated more perfectly by mankind from certain central positions." It is vital that in this planning the individual's capacity for adjustment be maintained. Too much individual freedom brings on dictatorship, and too much planning is also dictatorship. Between is that degree of planning which makes for unity and yet allows for freedom of adjustment. Adequately to discuss the author's many and searching theses pro and con and to question the usage of terms, such as "sociological" in the early pages and "social atoms" (p. 298), would require considerable space. The analyses need to be studied to be appreciated.

E.S.B.

RACES AND CULTURE

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN MEXICO. By GOODWIN WATSON. New York: Council for Pan-American Democracy, 1940, pp. 47.

In this Report a fair-minded picture of social changes in Mexico is offered. Educational progress is noted in both quantity and quality and in the face of far-reaching illiteracy. The bringing of Indian culture to the fore is noted. The meaning of "revolution" in Mexico is defined as "liberty" or "progress," and is illustrated from the recent presidential campaign as follows: "Just now we see the propagandists behind the campaign of the richest reactionary in Mexico putting up posters to reassure the public that General Almazan is at heart a true Revolutionary." The educational campaign that has been carried on by the Cardenas government has been hindered by "all the problems inherent in low economic production, inaccessible populations, centuries of treating men as patient beasts of burden, plus an enormous gulf between the educated and privileged few and the backward masses."

E.S.B.

THE MAYA AND THEIR NEIGHBORS. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940, pp. xxiii+606.

This is a real contribution to the literature of Central America. It is the result of work of forty-five scholars in the field of the Maya, most of whom have been students of Professor Alfred Marston Tozzer of Harvard University, perhaps the outstanding authority on the Maya, and to whom this book has been respectfully dedicated. The writings have been compiled into one volume and edited by Clarence L. Hay of the American Museum of Natural History; Ralph Linton of Columbia University; S. K. Lathrop of Peabody Museum, Harvard University; H. L. Shapiro of the American Museum of Natural History; and G. C. Vailant of the American Museum of Natural History.

The thirty-four chapters present a comprehensive picture of the Maya; yet they are written as essays, each on a different subject. Attention is given to origins, environmental influences, and linguistics. Special problems in archaeology, epigraphy, astronomy, and architecture are discussed, as well as more general topics concerning the development of Maya civilization. A study of ethnology is made, emphasizing the importance of ceramics in establishing chronology and reconstructing history. Thirteen chapters are devoted to the discussion of the influence of northern and southern peoples and the relationships resulting. In addition to the text are included twenty plates, forty illustrations, eleven tables, and one map. A bibliography of more than one hundred pages indicates the exhaustive use of reference material. It is undoubtedly the most authoritative work on the subject of Middle America, representing the best collective opinion of the day.

ELEANOR FRIEND KUEHMSTED

ASSIMILACAO E POPULACOES MARGINAIS NO BRAZIL. By EMILIO WILLEMS. Sao Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940, pp. xix+343.

There is no immigrant group in the Western Hemisphere upon which more attention is being focused today than the German colonists in southern Brazil. Dr. Willem's book, *Assimilation and Marginal Populations in Brazil*, with subtitle, "A Sociological Study of the German Immigrants and Their Descendants," is most timely. Fortunately for those who do not read Portuguese, some of the interesting facts presented in the book are summarized by the author in *Sociology and Social Research* for November-December, 1940, under the title: "Assimilation of German Immigrants in Brazil."

The book is based upon personal observations and research by the

author during five years of intimate contact with the German colonists during the period 1930-1935. As his title indicates, the author is particularly concerned with the marginal elements of the population. Following Park and Stonequist, he holds the "marginal man" to be an individual in a state of conflict, existing at the dividing point of two cultures yet outside both.

Several factors have contributed to the creation of large numbers of this marginal type among the German immigrants. One of these is isolation. Rural in origin, these immigrants settled in Brazil's wide open spaces, remote from contacts with Brazilians. Another factor is religion. The German Evangelical Protestant church with its imported pastors and teachers held their numerous constituents strictly in adherence to German nationalism, although Catholic Germans tended to mingle and even intermarry with Brazilians more freely. Protestants among all other groups in Brazil, the author affirms, are loyal to Brazil.

The process of assimilation was found to be most rapid in towns where contacts were frequent, but even in the rural areas there was a spontaneous absorption of colloquial Portuguese expressions from Brazilians. Physical racial marks, which are such a serious obstacle to assimilation in the United States, were found to be of minor significance in Brazil, though economic differences proved to be more serious. Aside from his findings on the process of assimilation, the author gives data regarding population increase which corroborate studies of other pioneer groups expanding to fill new lands. Birth rates among the rural colonists were double the rate in Germany, and mortality has been low. Averages of as many as eight children per family were found in some groups. The author's study is objective and impartial. He has made a scientific contribution to knowledge regarding immigration of distinct value not only to Brazil but to Pan America.

JOHN B. GRIFFING

THE PUERTO RICAN MIGRANT IN NEW YORK CITY. By LAWRENCE R. CHENAULT. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xii+190.

The first part of this study deals with Puerto Rico as a source of migration to the United States. There is a discussion of the resources of the island, its industries, and its political status; the composition, growth, and economic conditions of the population. Attention is next given to the motives, extent, and problems of migration to New York City. Part Two deals more extensively with the Puerto Rican worker and his family in New York, with an emphasis on their occupations, housing, health, and social adjustments.

J.E.N.

NEGRO YOUTH AT THE CROSSWAYS. By E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940, pp. xxiii+294.

Much has been written about social conditions of the Negro in the Old South and in Northern cities. However, most of us are unfamiliar with the Negro's problems in the tier of border states separating the two sections. Here dwell approximately a million Negroes, or about nine per cent of the nation's colored population. In these "crossways" the Negro's status reflects the Southern policy of restriction and the tendency toward greater racial tolerance of the North. The impact of these conflicting attitudes falls heavily upon the Negro youth, eager for self-expression. Often it engenders personality frustrations which are discernible in conflicts with parents reared under the Old South's discipline of submission.

Inasmuch as three fourths of the Negroes in the border states live in urban communities, the cities of Louisville, Kentucky, and Washington, D.C., were selected as suitable areas for the study. A staff of trained Negro investigators interviewed typical young people of both sexes representing families of lower, middle, and upper economic classes. Part I of the report summarizes the results of these interviews under the following headings: The Negro Community, The Role of the Family, Neighborhood Contacts, The School, The Church, Seeking Employment, and Social Movements and Ideologies. Supplementing the data contained in Part I the author presents in Part II a more intensive personality study of two typical Negro youths "as living human beings, in the totality of their relationships and interactions with the social and cultural world of which they are a part." Before Negro youth problems can be solved, they must be recognized and understood. To this sizable task the American Youth Commission, working through Dr. Frazier, has made in the present book a valuable, scientific approach.

H. C. HARMSWORTH

EUSAIO SOBRE A DIFFERENCIACAO DOS PROCESSOS DE SELECAO E ELIMINACAO NA POPULACAO DE SAO PAULO. By EMILIO WILLEMS. Sao Paulo: Departamento de Cultura, 1940, pp. 7.

Dr. Emilio Willems, professor of Educational Sociology in the University of São Paulo, in São Paulo, Brazil, has presented the results of studies in population in his region in a paper entitled "An Essay on the Differentiation of the Processes of Selection and Elimination in the Population of São Paulo." Wishing to discover whether or not a differential in reproductive rate in favor of lower classes exists in Brazil, as it is reported in some countries of Europe and in the United States, he made investigation of size of family among certain groups of students. These students he

graded into three levels. Those who had been required to repeat a year's work or who had a grade average lower than 50 (an average of 40 being the passing grade) were grouped in the lowest rank. The next level included those with grade averages between 50 and 69, while those with averages of 70 or above made up the highest rank. Records were taken of 700 students of secondary grade in the government normal school *Caetano de Campos* and 577 students in a similar school, *Padre Anchieta*.

The average number of children per family was nearly identical in the three ranks of students in *Caetano de Campos*, being 4.4, 4.2, and 4.3 from lowest to highest. But in *Padre Anchieta* the higher the rank, the larger the family, with averages 4.2, 4.5, and 4.7 for the respective ranks.

A further grouping of students was made according to occupation of fathers. Two classes were made, those of "dependent" occupations including functionaries of the government and of "independent" occupations such as proprietors and professions. In both schools the average family among those in independent professions was larger than the average among those in dependent professions. At *Padre Anchieta* the size of family tended to be larger in higher grade ranks in both occupational groups, while in *Caetano de Campos* little difference was observed.

JOHN B. GRIFFING

RACE: SCIENCE AND POLITICS. By RUTH BENEDICT. New York: Modern Age Books, 1940, pp. iv+274.

Race is explained in its historical and anthropological settings, and is accepted as a fact. Race is viewed, not as pure, but as mixed. It is seen as both biological and cultural intermixture with superior characteristics mixed with inferior ones in all races.

Racism is defined as a dogma, namely, as "the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital inferiority and another group is destined to congenital superiority." It is a dogma which leads to the belief that one race must be kept and others eliminated. It claims that "one race has carried progress with it throughout human history and can alone ensure future progress." The author marshals data and arguments against racism. Even de Gobineau, it is pointed out, insisted "over and over again that no civilization has been the work of a pure race." De Gobineau attempted to show that aristocracy is "endangered by a bastard proletariat," and hence developed his race theory. The author urges that it is necessary not only to teach in the schools the facts of race and "of the share of different races in our civilization," but to help children "to understand the mutual interdependence of different groups."

E.S.B.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

HOUSING AMERICA, A Source Unit for the Social Studies. By JOHN H. HAEFNER and others. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1940, Bulletin No. 14, pp. 80.

The facts of housing conditions in the United States are presented. The costs of housing are given. The ways in which housing needs are being met are described briefly. Suggestions are made for a housing survey, projects for students are outlined, and bibliographic materials in annotated form are cited.

A MEMORANDUM ON RESEARCH IN INCOME AND LEVELS OF LIVING IN THE SOUTH. By WILLIAM H. SEWELL. Stillwater, Oklahoma: Oklahoma A. and M. College, 1940, pp. 30.

APPLICATION OF LABOR LEGISLATION TO THE FRUIT AND VEGETABLE CANNING AND PRESERVING INDUSTRIES. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1940, pp. 162.

THE PLANTATION SOUTH TODAY. By T. J. WOOFER, JR., and A. E. FISHER. Washington, D.C., Work Projects Administration, 1940, pp. 27.

DEMOCRACY IN EVOLUTION, THE NATIONAL HISTORY OF A BOY'S CLUB GROUP. By CHARLES S. THOMPSON. Foreword by SANFORD BATES. Crestwood, N.Y.: Sanford Bates, 1940, pp. 51.

A firsthand account in the words of boys themselves of the ways that participation in a group club has affected their behavior. The materials are well analyzed, and valuable conclusions are drawn. A sample conclusion is that "a program, democratically developed from the interests, wishes, and needs of the group is far superior to any program prepared for a mythical 'over-age' group and handed down to the club leaders in the form of a handbook."

ALABAMA RURAL COMMUNITIES, A STUDY OF CHILTON COUNTY. By IRWIN T. SANDERS and D. ENSMINGER. Montevallo, Alabama: Alabama College, 1940, pp. 80.

Deals with topics such as: "How do you view the community?" "Social organization of Chilton County," and "Why not learn more about the communities of your county?"

THE CULTURAL ASPECTS OF METROPOLITAN LOS ANGELES. By DUDLEY C. GORDON. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1940, pp. 64.

An attractive guidebook, well written and illustrated, giving in brief compass a description of sixty-seven interesting places and institutions to visit in and near Los Angeles.

COOPERATIVE ACHIEVEMENT TESTS, Designed for High School and College Classes by the Cooperative Test Service of the American Council on Education. New York: 15 Amsterdam Avenue, 1941, pp. 45.

DYNAMISM AND THE MACHINERY OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. By MAURICE BOURQUIN. Geneva Studies, Vol. XI, No. 5, 1940, pp. 62.

How can the problem of international peace be formulated? "International relationships demand a certain discipline indispensable to any sort of collective life, and the function of law is to ensure this minimum of order in the most satisfactory manner." The consideration of world peace raises problems such as: the frame of mind in which the problem should be examined; direct negotiations; collective institutions; social and economic co-operation; and the settlement of political difficulties.

FORUMS ON THE AIR. By PAUL H. SHEATS. Washington, D.C.: The Federal Radio Education Committee, 1939, pp. vi+63.

LOCAL STATION POLICY. By LEONARD POWER. *Ibid.*, 1940, pp. ii+38.

COLLEGE RADIO WORKSHOPS. *Ibid.*, 1940, pp. iv+51.

LOCAL COOPERATIVE BROADCASTING. *Ibid.*, 1940, pp. vii+28.

These four reports are based upon findings of studies conducted under the directions of and compiled by Mr. Leonard Power, Consultant and Co-ordinator of Research, FREC, with the co-operation of the U.S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency. The first is a report of plans and procedures developed in the broadcasting of public affairs discussion programs over local radio stations. Local Station Policy is a more technical study of public service broadcasting. College radio workshops have been established by a number of universities to provide a broadcasting outlet for the schools and to furnish training opportunities for students, and the commercial stations use them for various purposes, chiefly educational. Local Cooperative Broadcasting is the latest of the series of surveys dealing with successful co-operative efforts. These reports are of special value to those who are interested in using the radio in education and as a means of raising the general level of enlightenment and culture through various co-operative efforts of broadcasting.

RECREATION: A HANDBOOK OF PLAYGROUND, SCHOOL AND ADULT RECREATION. By F. J. LIPOVETZ. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Burgess Publishing Company, 1940, pp. vi+399. Mimeographed.

A practical manual of information designed for a course in recreation organization and administration for recreation leaders and educators who desire concrete materials for teaching purposes.

LA VERDAD, LA CIENCIA Y LA FILOSOFIA (Truth, Science, and Philosophy). By FRANCISCO JAVIER A. BELGODORE. Mexico, D.F.: S. Turanzas del Valle, 1939, pp. 256.

This book is a defense of the author's thesis that a knowledge of absolute truth is beyond the power of man. As man is fallible, the creations of his mind are fallible. Thus the hypotheses of religion, philosophy, science, in fact every field of learning, are subject to human error. Rival schools of thought are evidence of their falsity, for in the realm of absolute truth there is no room for disagreement.

"A Critical Survey of the Negro Adolescent and His Education," Vol. IX, July, 1940, Yearbook, Number IX, *The Journal of Negro Education*, The Bureau of Educational Research, Howard University, Washington, D.C., pp. 546.

Charles H. Thompson, editor-in-chief of the *Journal*, explains the purpose of the current issue in the following words: "This issue of the *Journal* constitutes the ninth of a series of Yearbook numbers devoted specifically to the task of presenting at least once a year a rather comprehensive study of some particular aspect or problem in the education of Negroes. The ninth Yearbook is devoted to a critical survey of secondary education for Negroes." The twenty-seven articles comprising the report are arranged under three general heads: Part 1. The Negro Adolescent: His Problems and His Needs; Part 2. Nonschool Agencies for the Education of Negro Youth; and Part 3. The Negro Secondary School. Each contribution is written by a specialist in his field. Containing many data covering the social and economic environment of the Negro as compared with the white adolescent, the yearbook is of real value. In summarizing the work Harl R. Douglass, Director, College of Education, University of Colorado, comments, "Looked at as a whole this series of discussions of vital areas and problems in the education of Negro youth constitutes one of the most important contributions ever made to the education of youth—white or Negro."

SOCIAL DRAMA

THERE SHALL BE NO NIGHT. A play by ROBERT E. SHERWOOD. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940, pp. xxx+178.

Playwright Sherwood is a dramatist who confesses in the Preface to the printed edition of his successful and much-talked-about play that he has a point of view about war. Readers of his play *Idiots' Delight* may recall the expression of this view, which he states is similar to that which he attempts to make in the present play about the violation of Finland by Russia. It is stated in this manner: "If people will continue to be intoxicated by the synthetic spirit of patriotism, pumped into them by megalomaniac leaders, and will continue to have faith in the 'security' provided by those lethal weapons sold to them by the armaments industry, then war is inevitable, . . ."

There Shall Be No Night is a profoundly moving drama which reflects not only the seriousness with which the author regarded the vicious attack upon the Finns and their heroic resistance but also his amazement that the United States should have been seized with such abject fear that it was found impossible to give the little, honest, debt-paying nation any real help. The action of the play centers around the Helsinki home of Dr. Kaarlo Valkonen and his American-born wife Miranda. Dr. Valkonen has just been awarded the Nobel prize for his discovery of the true nature and causes of mental disease, and the first scene of the play finds him sending throughout the world a radio message concerning his discovery and his philosophy. In the message he reports his distress over the fact that the German nation, a nation which has contributed so much to scientific progress, should have had its spiritual resistance so lowered that its people have been willing "to discard all their moral sense, all the essential principles of justice and civilization." His plea to his radio audience is that man should discover and explore himself after the manner suggested by Socrates, "Know thyself."

This theme is elaborated upon during the events which finally bring disaster to the Finns. In the little schoolhouse where Dr. Valkonen with several others has taken refuge from a Russian bombing attack, he expands his philosophy just before darkness and death surround the place. Only fear and lack of belief in themselves can kill. "We have within ourselves the power to conquer bestiality, not with our muscles and our words, but with the power of the light that is in our minds. What a thrilling challenge this is to all science . . . To help speed the day when man becomes genuinely human, instead of the synthetic creature—part bogus angel, part actual brute—that he has imagined himself in the dark past."

And thus the play ends, despite the tragedy of the moment, on a note of optimism. *There Shall Be No Night* is a play of vitality, a play which pleads significantly for the restoration of man as a scientific creature being endowed with the essence of all that is enshrined in the meaning of humanity and humaneness.

M.J.V.

SOCIAL PHOTOPLAY

Knute Rockne All American is an interesting and well-executed piece of film biography. It plays up admirably some of the individual traits of personality that are commonly accepted, such as courage, determination, mental ability, common sense. It makes vivid those traits that are usually thought of as signifying strength of character and sturdy individualism and teamwork. Within such a framework there is little to criticize in this picture. The film depicts a strength of personality that is needed in a day when there are noticeable tendencies toward softness and cynicism. Football in action and leading football coaches in conversation constitute secondary but vital centers of interest. Both the acting and photography measure up well. There is a need for film biographies which will give proportionate attention to the larger human environment and its constituent stimuli within which personality traits both individual and social develop and fructify. Of course, biographies of this type are relatively few, but the trend will become unmistakable when the social bases of personality once become generally recognized.

E.S.B.

The Howards of Virginia is a film that is noteworthy for a number of important reasons. First, it revives the customs and traditions of pre-Revolutionary days. It shows some of the characteristic ways of living in Colonial times, particularly in Virginia. Transplanted English aristocracy is personified in one of the three leading characters. Second, the picture reveals rural pioneer life with both its crudeness and its spirit of individualism. Third, the spirit of American democracy is seen springing from that rural individualism. It seems to rise from the "voice of the rabble" as our aristocratic Virginian expressed the protests of the backwoodsmen when they cried out against special privilege with which the British government protected the propertied colonial class. Fourth, the clash between the old aristocracy and the new individualism stands out prominently. The two most important characters, one representing the old culture and the other the new, are wife and husband, respectively. They almost fall asunder and would have done so if tolerance had not been aroused in both through the courage of their eldest son. The old day gives way before the new but not without bitter struggles, and the American common-

wealth is born out of the conflict in general and out of the new individualism in particular. The picture arouses adverse reactions against the British regime in America, which some observers today will doubtless consider untimely. On the whole, the film speaks more wisely than its sponsors are apparently aware, for it points to the development of American democracy as an expression of pioneer individualism. E.S.B.

The Great Dictator. Charles Chaplin's impersonation of dual roles, that of Hynkel, the dictator of Tomania, and that of a little Jewish barber, the victim of amnesia, is one of the things that makes *The Great Dictator* a successful and finely conceived motion picture. A second contributing factor is the brilliantly edged satire of Hitler's vanity and vain-glorious outbursts. A third is the fervor for democracy as a way of life which lies behind the making of the picture. Then there is the sense of sure and skillful direction coupled with superb photographic effects.

The story is elemental, being based upon the resemblance of the dictator to the little village barber. The barber falls into the hands of storm troopers and is placed in a concentration camp. Hynkel at the same time is advancing into Osterlich, attempting to get there before his fellow dictator, Napaloni. The little barber escapes with a friend from the prison camp and, not aware of the Osterlich advance by Hynkel, walks toward the border city. There he is mistaken for Hynkel and given full honors while the army makes its triumphant entry into Osterlich. The real Hynkel in the interim is captured as the escaped prisoner.

All the old tricks that Chaplin has employed in his old-time comedies are preserved in the character portrayal of the barber. The superlative pantomimic gestures, the broad strokes of comedy, the little wisps of pathos are all still there. When he steps into the role of the dictator, Chaplin utilizes slapstick at its highest level, attempting to outrival the real thing as it has been pictured at least.

Since Herr Hitler is now no longer a mere funnyman to the world, the indirect propagandistic effect of the film might well have been lost if it did not show fleeting glimpses of the Hitler-produced tragedies. This strange admixture, however, has a slight disadvantage for the film, since the spectator has to run the gauntlet from low comedy to bitter tragedy. And at the climax, the little Jewish barber, mistaken for Hynkel and speaking to the Dictator's army and people, makes an inspired speech for the preservation of liberty and a world which will cherish democracy. Perhaps no actor other than Chaplin could have succeeded in making the transitions from pathetic clown to unrestrained, enraged buffoon to sincerely ardent and burning orator. Those interested in the fine art of acting should see and be thankful for *The Great Dictator*. M.J.V.

SOCIAL FICTION

WORLD'S END. By UPTON SINCLAIR. New York: The Viking Press, 1940, pp. 740.

World's End is the result of a separation of the cull from the chaff in the history of the first World War. This novel deals with young Lanny Budd, who at fourteen is far different from most boys of his age. He finds that life is full of many pleasures, each of which he tastes and relishes. Although the complexities of human thinking amaze him, he delights in literature, poetry, music, art, and the dance. His alert mind invites culture as readily as his mother, Beauty Budd, invites love and intrigue. He sets himself on a high plane, as it were, and views with deep perspective the workings of the human mind. Lanny has cultivated a neutral attitude toward all people, just as has his armament-manufacturing father. He stores all philosophies in his mind, and with hardheaded clearness receives many dividends. Thus are the philosophy and psychology of historical situations woven into fiction in *World's End*. When the war breaks, Lanny observes millions of unimportant people fighting. Fighting for what? Beauty's lover, like countless others, is killed "for the glory of France." The armament manufacturers, Lanny discovers, are not making money *for* the glory of any country, but *from* the glory of the involved countries. In his own mind Lanny is on friendly terms with all the fighting peoples, but because of his love for beauty and refinement, he is torn with grief to see such debasement of culture and civilization as the result of war. When the last gun sounded, the flags of surrender were flown. The peace terms were edited and re-edited; but for those who signed the treaty, there were fostered a seething hatred and a knowledge of injustice. The League of Nations, designed to maintain peace, was doomed to failure. There would soon be more avid leaders, and there would be more powerful armament manufacturers who would look toward new war horizons. This was to be no lasting peace—just the curfew before "world's end." This stimulating book is a processing and refining of many of the events of the recent past. With a rare blending of thought, truth, and fiction, Upton Sinclair has made a truly worthy contribution to the field of fiction.

VIRGINIA ELMQUIST